

THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY,
PART I.

OR, THE
FACTS

2.L.c.

Occasionally mentioned in the
NEW TESTAMENT

Confirmed by PASSAGES of
ANCIENT AUTHORS,

Who were contemporary with our
SAVIOUR, or his APOSTLES,
or lived near their Time.

With an APPENDIX concerning the Time of
HEROD'S Death.

VOL. II.

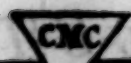
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THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY
PART I
OF THE
FACTS



MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM



THE
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OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.
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THE



T H E
C R E D I B I L I T Y
O F T H E
G O S P E L H I S T O R Y.

B O O K I I.

C H A P. I.

Three Objections against Luke, Ch. ii.

V. I. 2.

- I. *The first Objection, That there is no mention made by any ancient author of a decree in the reign of Augustus for taxing all the world, stated and answered.* II. *The second Objection, That there could be no taxing made in Judea, during the reign of Herod, by a decree of Augustus, stated and answered.*

P p

swered. III. The third Objection, That Cyrenius was not Governour of Syria, till several years after the birth of Jesus, stated, together with a general answer. IV. Divers particular solutions of this Objection. V. The last solution confirmed and improved. VI. Divers particular difficulties attending the supposition, that this taxing was made by Cyrenius, considered.



THE history of the New Testament is attended with many difficulties. Jewish and Heathen authors concur with the sacred historians in many things.

But it is pretended, that there are other particulars, in which they are contradicted by authors of very good note.

Among these, the difficulties, which may be very properly considered in the first place, are those which relate to the account St. Luke has given of the Taxing in Judea, which brought Joseph and the Virgin to Bethlehem a little before the birth of Jesus.

Luke ii. 1—
5.

And it came to passe in those days, says St. Luke, that there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.

taxed. (*And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was Governour of Syria.*) And all went to be taxed, every one in his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, (*because he was of the house and lineage of David;*) to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with childe.

Against this account several objections have been raised (a). They may be all reduced to these three.

I. It is objected, That there is no mention made in any ancient *Roman* or *Greek* historian, of any general taxing of people all over the world, or the whole *Roman Empire*, in the time of *Augustus*, nor of any decree of the Emperour for that purpose: Whereas, if there had been then any such thing, it is highly improbable, that it should have been omitted by them.

II. St. *Matthew* says, that Jesus was born ^{Ch. ii. 1.} in the days of Herod the king. Judea therefore was not at that time a Roman province,

(a) *Vid. Spanhem. Dubia Evangelica Part ii. Dub. iv. v. &c. Huet. Demonst. Evangel. Prop. ix. cap. x. & Commentatores.*

and there could not be any *taxing* made there by a decree of *Augustus*.

III. *Cyrenius* was not Governour of *Syria* till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after the birth of *Jesus*. *St. Luke* therefore was mistaken, in saying, that this *taxing* was made in his time. This objection will be stated more fully hereafter.

§. I. By way of answer to the first objection.

I. I allow that there is not any mention made by ancient writers of any general *taxing* all over the world, or of all the subjects of the *Roman Empire*, in the reign of *Augustus*.

Many learned men having been of a different opinion, I am obliged to consider their proofs.

Tillemont (b) puts the question, (for he does not assert it ;) whether *Plinie* has not referred to such a thing. But it is plain from *Plinie's* words, that he speaks of a partition of *Italie* only into several districts (c).

There

(b) *Tillemont Memoires Eccles. Tom. i. Not. ii. Sur Jesus Christ.*

(c) *Nunc ambitum ejus, urbesque enumerabimus. Quia in re praefari necessarium est, auctorem nos Divum Augustum secutu-*

There is a passage also of *Dio*, which has been referred to upon this occasion: But it has evidently no relation to the matter before us. The *Romans* had a tax called the *twentieth*. This tax was grievous to many people. *Augustus* therefore desired the senate to consider of some other. “ But the senate not finding any proper expedient, “ he intimated that he would raise money “ upon lands and houses, without telling “ them what, or in what manner, it should “ be; and hereupon sent officers abroad, “ some one way, and some another, to “ make a survey of the estates both of particular persons and cities. But upon this “ the senate complied immediately, and the “ old tax of the twentieth was confirmed, “ lest a worse thing should come in it’s room. “ This was all *Augustus* aimed at, and the “ survey was laid aside (*d*).” Besides, this affair happened, A. U. 766. A. D. 13. long after the taxing, which *St. Luke* speaks of.

secuturos, descriptionemque ab eo factam Italiae totius in regiones xi. *Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.*

(*d*) Καὶ παραχρῆμα μηδὲν εἰπὼν, μήθ’ ὅσον, μήθ’ ὅπως αὐτὰ δώσουσιν, ἐπεμψεν ἄλλως ἄλλη τὰ τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφόμενος· ἵνα ὡς καὶ μειζρόνως ζημιωθησόμενοι δέισωσι, καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τελεῖν αὐὸν θέλωσι· ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· *Dio l. 56. p. 588. E.*

The passage, which *Baronius* (e) has quoted from *Aethicus*, he does himself allow to relate only to a geometrical description of the Empire, begun by order of *Julius Cesar*, and finished in thirty two years, and therefore over long before the *taxing* mentioned by *St. Luke*.

I am afraid to mention his argument from *Plinie*, lest it should be thought, that I intend to divert the reader, when we ought to be serious. *Plinie* says: "And as for
 " *Augustus* himself, whom all mankind rank
 " in this classe, [*of fortunate persons*,] if the
 " whole course of his life be carefully considered, there will be observed in it many
 " instances of the ficklenesse and inconstance
 " of human affairs (f)." But *Baronius* supposes, that *Plinie* says, that in every census mention is made of *Augustus*, and that there was so particularly in that made by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, because he first made (g) a survey

(e) *Apparat. N. 97.*

(f) In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in HAC CENSURA nuncupat, si diligenter aestimentur cuncta, magna fortis humanae reperiantur volumina. *Lib. vii. cap. 45.*

(g) Idemque dum haec alibi ait: [*lib. vii. cap. 45.*] In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censura nuncupat, nempe eam, quam *Vespasianus* & *Titus* recens egerunt,

vey of the whole Roman Empire : Thus making *Plinie* to refer, in the passage he quotes from him, not to what went before, but to a passage which follows four chapters lower.

Some have alleged, as a proof of this general taxing, some words of *Suidas*, who in his *Lexicon* (*b*) says, “ That *Augustus* sent
“ out twenty men of great probity into all
“ parts of his Empire, by whom he made
“ an assessment of persons and estates, or-
“ dering a certain quota to be paid into the
“ treasury. This was the first census, they
“ who were before him having at pleasure
“ exacted tribute of those who had any
“ thing ; so that it was a public crime to
“ be rich.”

egerunt, de qua idem inferius [ibid. cap. 49.] meminit, significare videtur, in quolibet repetito in orbe Romano lustris singulis censu, mentionem Augusti fieri ; quod primus omnium universum orbem Romanum subiectum imperio censuisset. At de censibus satis. *Baron. ubi supra.*

(*b*) In Voc. Ἀπογραφὴ Ἀπογραφὴ ἡ ἀπαρίθμησις Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Αὐγὺς, ὁ μοναρχήσας, ἔκοσιν, ἄνδρας τὸς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενοι, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ ἐξέπεμψε δι’ ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν ἵστων, αὐτάρκη τινα προσάξας τῷ δημοσίῳ μοῖραν ἐκ τέτων εἰσφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς τὸς κητημένους τὴν μὴ ἀφαιρημένων, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς εὐπόροις δημοσίον ἔγκλημα τὸν πλῆτον.

But it is difficult to take this upon *Suidas*'s authority alone, since he says not in what part of *Augustus*'s reign it was done, quotes no author for it, and it is not to be found in any ancient writer now extant: though possibly, he refers to the story just now told from *Dio*; who assures us, that project, he mentions, was never executed. Besides, *Suidas* says, this was the *first census*; which is a very great mistake. There had been before *Augustus* many assessments of Roman Citizens, and likewise of divers provinces of the *Roman Empire*.

In another place *Suidas* says; "*Augustus* had a desire to know the number of all the inhabitants of the *Roman Empire* (i)." And he mentions the number, which, he says, was found upon the enquiry. But *Suidas* must have been mistaken. Archbishop *Usher*'s remark upon this passage is worth placing here. "In their Consulship [*Caius Marcius Censorinus*, and *C. Asinius Gallus*,] there was a second muster made at Rome, in which were numbered 4233000

(i) V. Αὔγουστος· Αὔγουστος· Καῖσαρ δόξαν αὐτῷ πάντας τὰς εἰκήτορας Ῥωμαίων κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀριθμεῖν, βεβημένον· γινῆναι πόσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος· καὶ εὐρίσκειν οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκῶντες εἰ μυριάδες καὶ χίλιοι ἑξήκοντες ἄνδρες·

“ Roman Citizens, as is gathered out of the
 “ fragments of the *Ancyran* marble. In
 “ *Suidas*, in Αὐγῆς the number is far lesse
 “ of those that were mustered, 4101017,
 “ which yet he very ridiculously obtrudeth
 “ upon us, not for the muster of the City
 “ only, but of the world (*k*).”

The late learned editor (*l*) of *Suidas* does also highly approve of this censure passed upon his author by our most learned and excellent Archbishop. It is observable, that they both use here the word *City* [*urbis censu*]. I hope however they mean not the City of *Rome* only, and the countrey round about it, but the Roman Citizens all over the *Roman Empire*, or at least all *Italie*: for otherwise, with submission, I should think them, in this particular, almost as unreasonable as *Suidas*. It is incredible, that there

(*k*) *Annals*: year of the world, 3996. p. 786. *Engl. Edit.* Lond. 1658. In the *Latin* the last words are: Qui tamen non pro Urbis tantum sed pro Orbis etiam Romani censu ridiculè nobis ibi obtruditur.

(*l*) De hoc loco vide omnino Casaubonum contra Baron. Exerc. 1. Num. 93. Et Usser.—qui rectè observarunt, Suidam hic censum urbis pro censu orbis Romani lectori obtrudere: cum ridiculum sit credere, non plures fuisse totius imperii Romani incolas, quam quot Suidas hic exprimit. *Kuster in loc.*

should

should have been at *Rome* and in the country round about it, beside strangers and slaves, which were very numerous, so many Roman Citizens, as are mentioned on the *Ancyran Marble*; even though all, who were entred in a census, be set down there; which however is denied by some. I suppose then, that by the muster of the City, these learned men mean the muster or census of Roman Citizens in any part of the *Roman Empire*; as opposed to all the people in general, living in the same Empire. And in this sense only (*m*) I adopt their censure of *Suidas*: and cannot but think it very just. The number of the inhabitants of the *Roman Empire* must needs have exceeded the numbers mentioned by *Suidas*, or on the marble; though it should be supposed, that none are included in these numbers, but those who were arrived at military age. This might be sufficient to shew, that the number of the *Ancyran Marble* is not the number of all the people of the *Roman Empire*: but other reasons will appear presently.

(*m*) I think this evidently *Kuster's* sense. His *Orbis Romani* is explained afterwards by *totius imperii Romani Incolas*. Therefore his *urbis census* imports Roman Citizens living any where.

I must

I must in the next place take the liberty of considering what *Prideaux* has said upon this subject, who with *Huet* (n), and others, thinks, that this description or survey in *Judea*, belonged to one of the surveys made by *Augustus*; and that in particular, it was a part of his second census. “ The
“ first was in the year when he himself was
“ the sixth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time Consuls, that is, in the year
“ before the Christian Aera 28. The second
“ time in the Consulship of *C. Marcius Censorinus*, and *C. Asinius Gallus*, that is, in
“ the year before the Christian Aera 8. And
“ the last time in the Consulship of *Sextus Pompeius Nepos*, that is, in the year of
“ the Christian Aera 14. In the first and
“ last time he executed this with the assistance of a colleague. But the second time
“ he did it by himself alone, and this is the
“ description which *St. Luke* refers to. The
“ decree concerning it was issued out the
“ year I have mentioned, that is, in the 8th
“ year of the Christian Aera, which was
“ three years before that, in which Christ
“ was born.—That we allow three years for
“ the execution of this decree, can give no

(n) *Demon. Evang. ubi supra* §. iii.

“ just

“just reason for exception.—The ac-
 “count taken by the decree of *Augustus* at
 “the time of our Saviour’s birth, extended
 “to all manner of persons, and also to their
 “possessions, estates, qualities, and other
 “circumstances. And when a description
 “and survey like this was ordered by *Willi-*
 “*am* the Conqueror, to be taken for Eng-
 “land only, I mean that of the *Doomsday*
 “Book, it was six years in making: and
 “the Roman province of *Syria* was much
 “more than twice as big as all *England* (o).”

To all this I shall only say (i.) That the
 surveys made by *Augustus* were of ROMAN
 CITIZENS only. So he says himself in the
 inscription on the Ancyran marble (p). And
 the Roman historians say the same thing (q).

(a) *Prideaux Conn. Part. ii. pag. 650. 652. 8vo. Edit. 1718.*

(p) Et in Consulatu. Sexto. Censum. POPULI. Collega.
 M. Agrippa. Egi—Quo. Lustrum CIVIUM. ROMANORUM. Cen-
 sita sunt. Capita. Quadragiens. Centum. Millia. Et. Sexa-
 ginta. Tria.—Cum—Nuper. Lustrum. Solus. Feci. Le-
 gi. Cenforum. I. SINIO. Cos. Quo. Lustrum. Censa. sunt.
 CIVIUM. ROMANORUM. Quadragens. Centum. Millia. Et.
 Ducenta. Triginta. Tria—In consulatu. Fi.—Cum. nuperri-
 me—Lustrum. Cum. Lega. Tiberio. Sext. Pompeio. Et
 Sext. Apuleio. Cos. Quo. Lustrum. ROM. CAPITUM. Quadra-
 gens. Centum. Mil.—IGINTA. Et. Septem. Mil. Legi.

(q) Recepit & morum legumque regimen aequè perpetu-
 um: quo jure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum ta-
 men POPULI ter egit. *Suet. in Aug. c. 27.*

But

But the census or description made in *Judea*, according to St. *Luke's* account, was of all the *inhabitants* of that countrey, which certainly were not, all of them, Roman Citizens.

(2.) The years which *Prideaux* mentions, were not the years, in which the decrees were issued out, but in which the surveys were finished. This appears to me the most natural meaning of the words of the inscription.

Perhaps it will be objected, that the Consulships here set down do not denote the years, in which a census was finished, but in which it was resolved upon and entered in the *Fasti*, or public Acts; and that the sense of the inscription may be thus: In such, and such a Consulship I made a census, by which census, when finished, the number of Citizens was found to be so and so. It may be likewise said, that the phrase *Lustrum feci* does not necessarily import the making the *Lustrum*, which was done when the census was over, but that *Lustrum* is *here* synonymous with census. And it may be urged, that when *Lustrum* denotes the solemn sacrifice at the conclusion of the census, the verb *condo* is used, and not *facio*, which we have here.

To

To this I answer, that by the account here given of the *third* census, we are obliged to suppose, that the Consulships, here named, denote the times, when each census was finished. *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, in whose Consulship the last census is placed, were Consuls, A. U. 767, A. D. 14. And *Augustus* died the 19th of *August*, that very same year. If the census had been only begun, and not finished, he could not have set down on the table, as he has done, the number of Citizens, which was found in that census. Moreover, it is plain from (r) *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* was nominated for colleague of *Augustus* in this census, the year before, if not sooner. It is likely the census might be *then* entered in the public Acts. But however that be, it is plain, that the date on the Ancyran Marble signifies the compleating of the census. And I think, that the passage I have just quoted from *Suetonius* may remove the scruple relating to the phrase; since he has

(r) A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.—Dedicavit & concordiae aedem.—Ac non multo post lege per Coss. lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. *vit. Tiber. c. 20. 21.*

used the verb *condo* ; by which we are fully assured, that the census was finished, and the solemn sacrifice performed at the conclusion of it, in the year set down on the Ancyran Marble.

Farther, *Augustus* in the Ancyran Marble places his first census in his own sixth Consulship, *Agrippa* being his colleague. And *Dio* says expressly that *Augustus* made, or *finished* (s) the census in that year. This being the case as to the *first* and *third* census of *Augustus*, we may conclude the same thing also with reference to the *second*, and that it was finished the *eighth* year before the Christian Aera : consequently, it is impossible, that St. *Luke's* description should have been a part of it.

After *Augustus's* death there were three books found among his papers : and one of these is alleged as a proof, that there had been made some general survey of the *Roman Empire*, and that about this time. *Prideaux's* words are these : " Of the book, " which *Augustus* made out of the surveys " and descriptions, which were at this time " returned to him out of every Province " and depending Kingdome of the *Roman*

(s) Καὶ τὰς ὑπογραφὰς ἐξήλθει· l. 53. p. 496. c.

" Em-

“ *Empire*, Tacitus (t), Suetonius (u), and
 “ *Dio Cassius* (x), make mention, and re-
 “ present it to be very near of the same
 “ kind with our *Doomsday Book* above men-
 “ tioned.”

But I do not see how *Augustus's* having had by him a little book, (*libellum*, *Breviarium imperii*,) written with his own hand, containing a small abridgement of the public taxes, imposts, and revenues, can be any proof, that this state of the Empire was formed upon a survey made at this time, or indeed, upon any general survey made at any other time, by virtue of any one single decree (that is St. *Luke's* phrase;) for the whole Empire. This state, which *Au-*

(t) Cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur. Quantum civium, sociorumque in armis: quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, & necessitates & largitiones, quae cuncta suâ manu perscripserat Augustus. *Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 11.*

(u) De tribus voluminibus, uno, mandata de funere suo complexus est: altero, indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur: tertio, breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum ubique sub signis esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario & fisco, & vectigalium residuis. *Suet. in Aug. c. 101.*

(x) Τὸ τρίτον τὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων, τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τὸ, τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων. *Dio. lib. 56. p. 591. B.*

gustus had by him of the public strength and riches, might have been formed upon surveys made at different times. Nay, he might have in this *Book* the state of dependent kingdoms, in some of which a census had never been made. And it is likely it may appear in the progress of this argument, that there were several countreys, branches of the *Roman Empire*, which had never been obliged to a census.

Beside that there is not found in any ancient Roman historian any account of a general census of all the countreys and people of the *Roman Empire*; there are considerations taken from the nature of the thing, which render it very improbable, that a general census should ever have been appointed at one time. The Roman assessments were always disagreeable things in the provinces, and often caused disturbances. An universal census at the same time seems to have been impracticable. And there does not appear in any Roman historian so much as a hint, that such a thing was ever thought of by any of their Emperours.

What is just now said of the difficulty of making a general survey at one and the same time, affects chiefly *Prideaux's* sentiment,

Q q who

who seems to think that the taxing St. *Luke* speaks of was a proper Roman census. They who suppose, that it was only a numbering of the people, are not particularly concerned with it.

2. I am of opinion, that St. *Luke* speaks only of a *taxing* in *Judea* : and that the first verse of his second chapter ought to be rendered after this manner : *And it came to pass in those days, that there went forth a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the land should be taxed.* So *Lenfant* has translated it (y). *Bynaeus* likewise is of the same sentiment, and has supported it, in my judgement, very well (z).

I have shewn in another (a) place, that the word we have here does sometimes denote a particular countrey only, and that St. *Luke* has used it for the land of *Judea*.

(y) En ce temps là, il fût publié un Edit de la part de César Auguste, pour faire un dénombrement de tout le pais. *Nouveau. Test. voyez les notes.*

(z) *Antonius Bynaeus de natali J. Christi. l. i. c. 3. §. v. vi.*

(a) See B. i. p. 542. n. h. Some time after this whole chapter was in a manner quite finished, I met with *Keucheni* Annotata in N. T. He has upon this text alleged some other examples of this use of *οικουμένη*. I rely upon those I have produced in the place referred to, and shall not trouble the reader with more.

And

And he must be so understood in this place. The decree relates to the land of *Judea* only, because (b) the account that follows is of that countrey only. And must not every one perceive some deficiency, if *οικουμένη* be here rendered the whole world or the *Roman Empire*? Let us see what St. *Luke* says, omitting at present the parenthesis. *And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one in his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth.* If the account of the decree had been worded by St. *Luke* so generally, as to comprehend the whole world; would he not have taken

(b) What is above was writ several months before I had seen *Keuchenius*. But my sentiments are so much confirmed by what he has said upon the same subject, that I am persuaded the reader will allow me to take the advantage of subjoining here from him what follows: *Praeterea, an veri speciem habet, Augustum uno eodemque tempore descriptionem per totum orbem Romanum instituere voluisse? accedit quod omnes v. 3. ad civitatem patriam profecti leguntur, ut describerentur, nimirum illud πάλιν respicit ad πᾶσαι τῇ οἰκουμένην, cujus descriptio injuncta fuisse vers. 1. legitur, & istius mandati autoritate omnes impuls, & ad propriam civitatem profecti esse memorantur.*

some notice of the land of *Judea*, before he came to relate particularly what was done in it?

If it be enquired: If the land of *Judea* only be meant, what does the term *all* signify? I answer, it was very necessary to be added. At the time when St. *Luke* wrote, and indeed from the death of *Herod*, which happened soon after the nativity of Jesus, the land of *Judea*, or of *Israel*, had suffered a dismembring. *Archelaus* had to his share *Judea* properly so called, together with *Samaria* and *Idumea*. And the province of *Judea*, which was afterwards governed by Roman Procurators, was pretty much of the same extent. But *Galilee*, *Iturea*, and other parts of the land of *Israel*, had been given to other descendents of *Herod* the Great.

St. *Luke*'s words therefore are extremely proper and expressive, that ALL THE LAND should be taxed; to shew, that this decree of *Augustus* comprehended *Galilee*, the country, in which *Joseph* lived. That this was the intention in adding this term of universality, is evident from St. *Luke*'s specifying immediately afterwards the name of the city, from which *Joseph* came to *Bethlehem*;

lebem; which city was not in the countrey that originally belonged to the tribe of *Judab*, nor situated in the bounds of the province of *Judea* at the time, in which *St. Luke* is supposed to write, but was of the kingdom of *Judea* in the reign of *Herod*.

It seems needleſſe to obſerve, that it was very common to add the term *all* or *whole* to *Judea* or *Land*, when perſons intended the land of the *Iſraelites*. There are divers inſtances in the Old and New Teſtament. And *Joſephus*, ſpeaking of *Agrippa* the Elder, who had been poſſeſſed of all the territories ſubject to his grandfather *Herod* the Great, ſays: “ He had now reigned “ three years over the WHOLE land of *Ju-
“ dea* (c).”

Though I am very well ſatiſfied from the context, that *St. Luke* comprehends nothing in *Augustus*’s decree, beſide the land of *Judea*; yet it is no ſmall confirmation of this interpretation, that the moſt early Chriſtian writers ſeem to have underſtood *St. Luke* in the ſame manner. For when they ſpeak of this circumſtance of our Saviour’s nativity, they never ſay any thing of a general cen-

(c) Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλή-
ρωτο. *Joſephus. pag. 871. v. 34.*

fus all over the world, or the *Roman Empire*.

Justin Martyr in his first Apologie informs the Emperour and the Senate, of the time and place of Christ's nativity. "*Beth-lebem, says he, in which Jesus Christ was born, is a village in the countrey of the Jews, at the distance of five and thirty stadia from Jerusalem. You may assure yourselves of this from the census made in the time of Cyrenius your first procurator in Judea (d).*" He mentions this census also in several other places, and always in the same manner (e). I do not recollect above one passage of *Irenaeus*, in which there is any notice taken of this census (f), and that is not very material.

(d) Κώμη δέ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίων, ἀπέχουσα σταδίων πεντήκοντα πέντε Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ ἐγενήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τῷ ὑμείλει ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτῃ γενομένη ἐπιβρόμων. *Just. Mart. Ap. 1. p. 75. E.*

(e) Πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα γεγονῆσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγει ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ Κυρηνίᾳ *ibid. p. 83. B.* Ἀπογραφῆς ἕως ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίᾳ κ. τ. λ. *Dial. ii. p. 303. D.*

(f) Sed proxima aetatis dicebant, [*Judaei Job. viii. 56. 57.*] five verè scientes ex conscriptione census, five conjicientes secundum aetatem, quam videbant habere eum super quadraginta. *Iren. lib. ii. cap. xxii. §. 6.*

Chap. i. *Luke ii. 1. 2. considered.* 579

St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* says: "Our Lord was born in the eight and twentieth year, when they first ordered a census to be made in the time of *Augustus* (g)."

Origen confounds this census with that afterwards made in *Judea* by (h) *Cyrenius*. But says nothing of it's being universal. And indeed the passage amounts almost to a positive proof, that he thought the census related to *Judea* only.

Tertullian has often made mention of the time of the rise of Christianity in his *Apolo- gie* addressed to the Roman Magistrates (i), in his books inscribed to the *Gentils* (k): of this and the census, in his treatises, writ against the *Jews* (l), and against *Here-*

(g) Εγεννήθη δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γινίσθαι. *Clem. Strom. l. i. p. 339. D.*

(h) Καὶ μὴ' ἐκείνον [Θευδᾶν] ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἡμέραις, ὅτ' εἰσὶ γεγενησθαι ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἰούδας τις Γαλιλαῖος· πολλὰς ἑαυτῷ συναπέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆ λαῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. *Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 44.*

(i) *Apol. cap. 5, 7, 21.*

(k) *Ad Nat. lib. i. cap. 7.*

(l) Fuit enim de patria Bethlehem, & de domo David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria, ex qua nascitur Christus. *Adv. Judaeos. cap. 9.*

tics (m) : but yet there is no notice taken of any census, beside that in *Judea*.

If any think that we are to expect no mention of a general census from the Christian writers, because the census in *Judea* was all that was to their purpose : I say, that a general census of all the people and countreys of the *Roman Empire* was very much to their purpose ; the more to illustrate the epoch of our Saviour's nativity. A general census must have been better known, than one that was particular. Would *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian* have omitted this circumstance, if *St. Luke* had mentioned it ? or if they themselves were aware of it ? And yet in their time certainly an universal census, made in the reign of *Augustus*, could not have been forgotten.

Nay, though the universality of the census had been a circumstance of no importance at all in their argument ; yet it is al-

(m) Aufer hinc, inquit, molestos semper Caesaris census. *De carne Christi. cap. 2.* Sed & census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. *Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19.* Tam distincta fuit a primordio Judaea gens per tribus & populos, & familias, & domos, ut nemo facile ignorari de genere potuisset, vel de recentibus Augustinianis censibus, adhuc tunc fortasse pendentibus. *ibid. cap. 36.*

Chap. i. *Luke ii. 1. 2. considered.* 581

most impossible, but it must have dropped from them in some one of those many occasions, in which they have mentioned our Saviour's nativity, and the census which accompanied it.

I shall proceed but one step farther to observe, that *Eusebius* has made no mention of any more than the census performed in *Judea*, neither in his *History* (n), nor in his *Chronicle* (o).

I cannot say, that this interpretation is supported by any ancient version. But *Bynaeus* (p) observes, that in an ancient gloss there is this explanation of it: *That all the world should be taxed] or surveyed: not the orb of all the earth, but the orb of Judea and Syria.*

(n) *Vid. Hist. Ecc. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

(o) 'Εν τῷ λγ' Ἡρώδου Κυρήνι· ὑπὸ τῆς συγκαλήτου βουλῆς ἀπετάλμεν· εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἑσίων καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων· p. 76. *vid. & p. 200.*

(p) Hoc a nemine interpretum, quod quidem ego sciam, animadversum esse nisi in specimine Glossae Ordinariae, quod Robertus Stephanus edidit, legimus. *Othavius* xlii. imperii sui anno, publico decreto edixit, ut universus orbis *Judaeorum & Syriae* describeretur; & paulo post, ut censeretur totus orbis] sive describeretur: non quidem orbis terrarum, sed orbis *Judaeorum & Syriae.* *Bynaeus. De natali Jesu Christi.* p. 306.

If

If then the census or description ordered by the decree of *Augustus* at the time of our Saviour's nativity was of the land of *Judea* only, the silence of ancient historians is no objection at all against St. *Luke's* account. There must have been many surveys of provinces of the *Roman Empire* in the reign of *Augustus*, of which there is no notice taken by any of the *Roman* or *Greek* authors now in our hands.

The only writer, in whom we could expect any mention of it, is *Josephus*. Whether he has spoke of it or not, will be considered hereafter. But supposing at present, that there is no notice at all taken of it by him, this is no objection against St. *Luke*. It is not to be expected we should find in one single historian all the affairs that were transacted in his countrey. We have undoubted evidence of this enrollment in the early testimonies of the Christian writers. I have already exhibited more than enough of them. *Justin Martyr* speaks of it in his *Apologie* to the Emperour and the Senate before the middle of the second centurie. *Tertullian* mentions it in several of his pieces. There is scarce any one occasional fact or circumstance relating

lating to the history of Jesus, which was more frequently and more publicly mentioned by the Christian writers. And yet it was never contested, that I know of, in all antiquity, not even by the adversaries of the Christian Religion. *Julian* speaks of it as a thing universally known. I subjoyn his words. "The Jesus, *says he*, whom "you extol, was one of *Cesar's* subjects. "If you make a doubt of it, I will prove "it by and by : Though it may be as well "done now. For you say yourselves, that "he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time of *Cyrenius* (q)."

I presume, I have answered this objection : but it is upon the supposition, that *St. Luke* speaks of a census or enrollment in *Judea* only. I have not taken up this interpretation to avoid a difficulty, but because I really think it to be *St. Luke's* meaning. However, if *St. Luke* be supposed to speak of a general census of the *Roman Empire* ; I own, that the silence of antiquity would be a very great objection. Nor

(q) Ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν κηρυττόμενος Ἰησοῦς εἰς ἣν τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπηκόων· εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖτε, μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀποδείξω· μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη λεγίσθω· φασὶ μὲν τοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπογράψασθαι μετὰ τῷ πατρίδι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου· *Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 213. ed. Spanh.*

is the difficulty much lessened by supposing, this enrollment was of persons only, and not of lands or goods. The numbring the people was far from being the principal design of a census of Roman Citizens. But yet, oftentimes, when an historian mentions a census, he gives very little account of any thing relating to it, beside the number of Citizens that was found. If ever the number of all the people of the *Roman Empire* had been taken in the reign of *Augustus*, it would have been a very great curiosity; and historians would have been very fond of gratifying their readers with it. Though we have but few writers of those times, yet it is with me unquestionable, that in some of those we have there would have been a particular account of so remarkable an event, or at least many references to it: whereas there are none at all.

§. II. St. *Matthew* says, that Jesus was born in the days of *Herod*. *Judea* therefore was not at that time a Roman Province: and there could be no taxing made there by virtue of a decree of *Augustus*.

This objection has been answered already. For it is evident from what has been
3
alleged

alleged from the Christian writers, in the reply to the former objection, that there was some census, description, or survey made in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's nativity, by a decree of *Augustus*. However, that no scruples may remain in the minds of any from a false notion of the state of *Judea* under *Herod*, I shall particularly consider the matter of this second objection.

But I would first observe in general; that though we have the word *taxing* in our version, *that all the world should be taxed; this Taxing was first made*; yet the words used by St. *Luke* do not import a tax, or laying a tax or duty upon a people. In the margin of our Bibles we have the word *enrolled*. And in most other translations (*r*) a word of like signification is used.

I must also premise, that some have thought that this enrolment was to be only of names and persons; and that all *Augustus* aimed at by this decree was to know the number of people inhabiting the *Roman Empire*, with their employments and

(*r*) Ut describeretur universus orbis. Haec descriptio prima facta est: *Vers. vulg.* pour faire un denombrement —ce denombrement se fit. *Mons vers. M. Le Clerc. Lefant, &c.*

conditions of life. *Whitby* paraphrases these words thus : *That all the world should be taxed* : that is, " should have their names " and conditions of life set down in court " rolls, according to their families."

Others have thought, that this decree obliged to a registry not only of the names of persons and their conditions of life, but also of their goods and possessions ; and that in short, it was a Roman census, which was now made, in order to the peoples paying taxes for the future, according to the value of their estates. I own, I am inclined to this later opinion ; and that *St. Luke* speaks only of a census in *Judea*, as I have already declared.

Having premised these things, that we may find out, what kind of *enrolment*, or registering was now ordered by *Augustus* ; whether a decree of *Augustus* could be obligatory at this time upon the people of *Judea* ; and whether it is likely there was a Roman census made there at this time ; I shall consider these following particulars.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census.

2. I shall consider the force of *St. Luke's* words.

3. I shall describe in general the state of *Judea* under *Herod*.

4. I shall enquire, what grounds there are to believe, that a Roman census was made in *Judea* at this time.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census. A census (as I take it,) consisted of these two parts: *first*, the account which the people gave in of themselves and their estates; and *secondly*, the value set upon their estates by the Censors, who took the account from them. The people did undoubtedly represent in some measure the value of the things they entered; but the Censors seem to have had the power of determining and settling the value.

There was indeed another thing, which belonged to the office of the Censors at *Rome*; the censure, or correction of manners: but, as I suppose, that belonged only to a census of Roman Citizens, and that it was no part of a census of all the inhabitants of a province, or of a countrey subject to a dependent Prince, I take no notice of it here.

The Roman census was an institution of *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of *Rome*. *Dionysius* of *Hallicarnassus* gives us this account of it; that “ He ordered all the
“ Citi-

“ Citizens of *Rome* to register their estates,
 “ according to their value in money, taking
 “ an oath, in a form he prescribed, to de-
 “ liver a faithful account according to the
 “ best of their knowledge, specifying withal
 “ the name of their parents, their own
 “ age, and the names of their wives and
 “ children, adding also what quarter of
 “ the City, or what town in the countrey,
 “ they lived in (s).”

And after much the same manner do we find a Roman census described in the (t) Fragments of the twelve tables, and in the Roman (u) Orators, (x) Historians, and (y) Law-

(s) Ἐκείλευσιν ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους ἀπογράφεισθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς ὑσίας πρὸς ἀργύριον, ὁμόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄρεον, ἢ μὴ τ' ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου τιμᾶσθαι, πατέρων τε ὧν εἰσι γράφοντας, καὶ ἡλικίαν ἣν ἔχουσιν δηλώντας, γυναῖκας τε καὶ παῖδας ὀνομάζοντας, καὶ ἐν τίνι καλοικῶσιν ἕκαστοι τῆς πόλεως τόπων. ἢ πάγῃ τῆς χώρας προσθίνοντας. *Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. L. iv. c. 15. p. 212. init. Hudf. Edit.*

(t) *Censores populi civitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento. Cic. de Leg. lib. iii. cap. 3.*

(u) Jam (ut censoriae tabulae loquuntur) *fabrūm & procūm*, audeo dicere, non *fabrorum & procorum. Cic. Ora. tor. n. 156.*

(x) Ab hoc (Servio Tullio) *populus Romanus* relatus in censum.—Summāque regis solertiā ita est ordinata respublica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur, ac si maxima civitas minimae domus diligentia contineretur. *Florus lib. i. cap. 6. vid. Liv. lib. i. cap. 42. & seq.*

(y) *Vid. Digesta Tit. de censibus.*

yers.

vers. From all whom it appears, the people were required to give in an account of their names, their quality, employments, wives, children, servants and estates.

Beside what the people did, there seems to have been something done by the Censors more than the bare taking the account the people gave in : that is, they were to determine the value of each particular of their estates, and the amount (x) of the whole ; and from this seems to have been taken the name or title of this office, both in the (a) *Latin*, and in the (b) *Greek* language. For not only was the compass of ground, which any one possessed to be considered, but the nature of it, and the profits it might yield : Nor the number only of slaves or servants, which any one had ; but also the work (c) they were employed in, according to which their service was to

(x) In censu habendo potestas omnis aestimationis habendae, summaeque faciundae, censori permittitur. *Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. n. 131.*

(a) Censio aestimatio, unde Censores. *Festus de verb. Sign.* Censores ab re appellati sunt. *Liv. lib. iv. cap. 8. fin.*

(b) Τυμνός.

(c) In servis deferendis observandum est, ut & nationes eorum, & officia, & artificia specialiter deferantur. *l. iv. §. 5. ff. de censibus.*

be valued. And therefore every one reckoned himself worth so (*d*) much as the Censors valued his estate at.

This power, which the Censors had of rating or valuing the estates of all persons, gave them an opportunity of committing injustice, in favouring some and oppressing others. For though there were (*e*) rules, by which they ought to regulate their estimation of every particular; and the supreme Censors (*f*) were wont to issue out precepts to their under officers, enjoining justice and equity in their posts; yet if the supreme Censors were men of ill principles, very great enormities often went unpunished (*g*).

(*d*) *Censores dicti, quod rem suam quisque tanti aestimare solitus sit, quantum illi censuerint. Festus. V. Censores.*

(*e*) *Formâ censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referantur, — arvum quod in decem annos proximos satum erit, quot jugerum sit, — illam aequitatem debet admittere censor, ut officio ejus congruat, relevari eum, qui in publicis tabulis delato modo frui certis ex causis non possit. l. 4. pr. eod.*

(*f*) *Edicis enim, te in decumanum, si plura sustulerit, quam debitum sit, in octuplum judicium daturum esse. Cic. in Verr. l. iii. n. 26.*

(*g*) *Sic census habitus est, te Praetore, ut eo censu nullius civitatis respublica posset administrari. Nam locupletissimi cujusque census extenuarant, tenuissimi auxerant. ibid. lib. ii. n. 138.*

That

That the reader may have a compleat idea of the design of these enrolments among the *Romans*, at least so far as is necessary to our purpose; I shall add here the account, which *Dionysius* has given of the census made by *Laertius* the Dictator, A. U. 258. before Christ, 496. Being chosen Dictator, “ He immediately ordered, that
“ all, according to the excellent institution
“ of *Servius Tullius*, should in their several
“ tribes give in an account of their estates,
“ setting down the names of their wives
“ and children, and their own age, and
“ that of their children. All having in a
“ short time offered themselves to be assessed,
“ (for the penalty of neglect was no less,
“ than forfeiture of estate and citizenship;)
“ there were found to be one hundred fifty
“ thousand and seven hundred *Romans* at
“ man’s estate. After this, he separated
“ those who were of military age from the
“ elder; and disposing those into cen-
“ turies, he formed four bodies of horse
“ and (b) foot.” From this passage it ap-
pears,

(b) Τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ Σεργίῳ Τυλλίῳ τῷ δημοκλειάτῃ βασιλέως κατασταθέντων νομίμων, πρῶτον ἐπίταξε Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν ποιῆσαι, τιμῆσις καὶ φύλας τῶν βίων ἐν γυναι, προσγράφευαί

pears, that the knowledge of the military strength of the state was intended in this institution, as well as the regulating the public revenue. It was necessary to observe this here, that the reader may the better judge of some arguments that follow.

2. We shall now consider the force and import of the words St. *Luke* makes use of in his account of the matter before us.

Now it must be allowed, that the verb made use of by St. *Luke* in the first verse, *that all should be taxed*, or enrolled (*i*), is used by *Greek* authors, for the making any kind of entry or enrolment. Thus *Servius Tullius* observing many Roman Citizens to be in debt, ordered all of them, who had not where-withal to satisfy their creditors, to enter (*k*) their names, and the sum they

γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ὀνόματα, καὶ ἡλικίας ἰαυτῶν τε καὶ τέκνων· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγω δὲ χρόνῳ πάντων τιμησαμένων, διὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῆς τιμῆς τῆς τε γὰρ εὐρίας ἀπολείπει τὰς ἀπειθήσας εἶδει, καὶ τὴν πολίτειαν ἐπὶ λακοσίῳ πλείους εὐρέθησαν οἱ ἐν ἡβῃ Ῥωμαίων πατρικαῖς δέκα μυριάδων· μετὰ τούτο διακρίνας τὰς ἱκανὰς τὴν εὐρίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων· κ. λ. lib. 5. c. 75. p. 324.

(*i*) Ἀπογράφειν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκυμένην (Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ κ. τ. λ.)

(*k*) Ἀπογράφειν κτείνοντας τὰς ἀποχρεῖς, ὅσοι τὴν πίστην ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν φυλάττειν τοῖς ὀφείλοις, καὶ πῶσον ἕκαστος. Dionys. Hal. L. iv. c. 10. p. 207.

owed in public rolls; that it might be known, what the whole amounted to, and provision might be made for payment.

This word is likewise used concerning the enrolments, which were made, when the Roman Citizens gave in their names and enlisted themselves in the service of a General (*l*).

So that perhaps there may be some reason to question, whether St. *Luke* intended not a bare entry or enrolment, made by the people of *Judea*, of their names and condition of life, as many learned men have supposed.

But yet on the other hand, it is certain, that the whole of a census is oftentimes expressed, by the *Greek* authors, by the words which St. *Luke* has used. Thus *Dio Cassius* speaking of *Augustus's* first census, says, “in the same year he finished (*m*) the enrolments.” Hereby meaning, the whole

(*l*) Συνέβηεν ἀπογραφόμενοι τε πρὸς τὰς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὁμολύγιος ὄρεον. *Dion. Hal. Lib. x. cap. 16. init.*

(*m*) Ἐν δ' ἔν τῷ τότε παρόντι τάτε ἄλλα ὥσπερ ἰδιόμοτον ἐπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξείλετο. *Dio. L. 53. p. 496. c. ad A. U. C. 726.*—*vid. etiam p. 512. B. καὶ αὐτῶν* (sc. Gallorum) καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησαντο, &c.

of a census, including also the censure of manners, which belonged to a census of Roman Citizens. And in another place, when he particularly describes the office of a Censor, he says: "As Censors, they [*the Emperours*] enquire (*n*) into our lives and manners, and make enrolments." He intends therefore in this place the whole of a census, except the correction of manners, by the noun, which St. *Luke* makes use of in the second verse; only it is in the plural number.

Farther St. *Luke's* narration contains in it so many circumstances of a Roman census, that I cannot but think, there was at this time a proper census. The substance of the decree was, that all the land should be enrolled. Again, *All went to be taxed*, or enrolled. And he intimates very plainly, that *Mary* also was enrolled with *Joseph*. All these are particulars extremely agreeable to the nature of a Roman census.

Though therefore the words in St. *Luke*, and especially the verb in the first verse, are used for the making of any kind of entry, yet the whole relation obliges us to under-

(*n*) Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τιμηθῆναι, τὸς τε βίως καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζειν, καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ποιῆσαι. *id.* L. 53. p. 508. B. C.

stand it concerning this particular kind of enrolment.

And St. *Luke's* words appear to be extremely proper. The edicts for a census seem to have generally run in this form, expressing the duty of the people. There is in *Cicero* the title of such an edict, published by *Verres* Praetor of *Sicilie*, when a census was to be made in that province. It is called an EDICT concerning the ENROLMENT (o).

In a census of the Citizens of *Rome*, the number of the people was always taken and observed, but there was a census made of goods and lands, as well as of persons. This appears from passages already quoted from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and others. And *Livie* says expressly, that the very design of the institution was, that people might contribute to the expenses of the state not by the head, but in proportion to their estates (p).

And

(o) EDICTUM DE PROFESSIONE. *Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. n. 26.*

(p) Ut quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis, ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis FORTUNAEQUE aliquid interlucet, posteris fama ferrent: Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio: ex quo belli

And for aught that appears, the same views were pursued in the assessments made in the provinces. *Tacitus* indeed says that the *Batavi* paid no tribute to the *Romans*, and furnished the state with arms and (q) men only upon occasion. And some may be disposed to infer from hence that there might be enrolments made, in such a province, of the names of the people, and their conditions of life; in order to know, what number of troops it might furnish the state with.

This is very possible, and I think not unlikely: though I have not yet seen any particular instance of it referred to by learned men upon this occasion. Some however do suppose, that the survey of *Judea* at this time was made by *Augustus* with this very view (r). But I believe *Judea* was the last

pacisque munia NON VIRITIM SED PRO HABITU PECUNIARUM, FIERENT. *Liv. lib. i. cap. 42.*

(q) Nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum attriti, viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant. *Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12.* Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit, exempti oneribus & collationibus, & tantum in usum praeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur. *Id. de Morib. Germ. cap. 29.*

(r) Breviario igitur quod meditabatur *Augustus*, quantum militum *Judaea* suppeditare posset, includi debuit. *Basnage. Ann. Polit. Ecc. ante D. 5. n. 11.*

place,

place, in which the *Romans* would look for soldiers. The *Jews* had formerly served the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* in their wars; they had likewise been in the Roman armies. But now they had scruples about serving *Heathens* in this way. And all of them, who were in the service of the *Romans*, had been discharged in form (s). Their own Kings kept foreign troops in *Judea*. After the conquest of *Egypt*, *Augustus* made *Herod* a present of four hundred *Gauls*, that had been the Life Guard of *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* (t). And in the description of *Herod's* funeral solemnity, *Josephus* reckons up three distinct corps of foreign soldiers; *Thracians*, *Germans*, and *Gauls* (u). Indeed the *Jews* were at this time so self-willed and tumultuous, that, as it seems, no Prince was very forward to put weapons into their hands.

I recollect but one instance, that looks like a design of any of the Roman Emperours to take *Jews* into their service. This was in the reign of *Tiberius*, who, as *Suetonius* says, sent the *Jewish* youth (who

(s) *Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 10. §. 12.*

(t) *Id. de B. J. lib. i. p. 1006, 15.*

(u) *Ibid. cap. ult. sub. fin.*

were

were at *Rome*) under a sort of military oath into the more unhealthful provinces (x). But this seems to me to have been more like sending them to the mines, than taking them into military service. We are certain, the *Jews* did afterward pay tribute to the *Romans*. And perhaps I may hereafter make it appear, they were now, and had been before this, tributary to the *Romans*. It is therefore much more likely, that surveys should be made in *Judea*, with a view to tribute, than to military service.

Nor do I perceive, what learned men gain by this. They think it dishonorable to *Herod* to have the goods of his subjects enrolled and rated by a Roman officer for the paying of tribute. But where lies the difference between this, and the numbring and entering his people, in order to demand for soldiers as many men as his countrey could afford? If indeed this enrolment of his people had been made by *Herod*, by his own authority, and at his own discretion, in order to furnish the Emperour with a

(x) *Judaeorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris coeli distribuit. vit. Tiber. c. 36. vid. & Tacit. Ann. ii. c. 85.*

certain quota of men upon occasion, *Herod's* honour had been saved. But this is not *St. Luke's* account. *There went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the land should be taxed.* And by virtue of this decree of *Augustus* all *Herod's* subjects, men and women, in every part of his dominions, were enrolled, with great exactness, and, as it seems, with great expedition. And the order of enrolment must have been very pressing. I do not suppose indeed, that the Virgin was obliged at all by the decree to go to *Bethlehem* : But I think, that *Joseph* would not have gone thither, when she was so near the time of her delivery, if the enrolment would have admitted of a delay, or could have been done at another time.

And that this enrolment was performed by some Roman officer, as well as ordered by an Imperial decree, may be very fairly concluded from the parenthesis, *ver. 2.* since the main intention of it is to distinguish it from another, which was certainly made by a Roman officer.

Mr. *Whiston* indeed says, *It is very probable that the enrolment of the Jews was made*

made by Herod, at the request of (y) Augustus. It would have been to Mr. Whiston's purpose to give a few specimens of this stile of Augustus, or of the Republic toward some of their dependent nominal Kings. But it would not have signified much in this case, because St. Luke does not say, *there went out a request from Cesar Augustus*, but a *decree*. And therefore we should have been still obliged to call it a *decree*. And I believe, we may do so very safely. We shall find by and by, from the history of Herod, that it is very unlikely that Augustus should have sent Herod any requests about this time.

Again : Mr. Whiston supposes that Herod the King of the Jews was requested or required to get him [Augustus] a like exact account of the Jewish nation, as he had already attained of the rest of the Roman Empire. But if this had been all that Augustus did, namely, requiring or requesting this of Herod, then Herod must have issued a command or order to all his people to enrolle themselves. But how came St. Luke to mention Augustus's requirement or request

(y) Short view of the Harm. of the four Evan. p. 149.

to *Herod*, and call it a decree too, and yet say nothing of *Herod's* order? I think, St. *Luke* does plainly represent the people of *Judea* in motion for enrolling themselves in their several cities in obedience to *Augustus's* decree; and he says nothing of *Herod*.

Some have thought that this enrolment was the effect of *Augustus's* curiosity. And some expressions of *Claudius* (z) in his speech to the Senate about giving the freedom of the City to the *Gauls* have been alleged by learned men as a proof, that assessments were sometimes made in the provinces purely out of curiosity. For he says, that he had found a census to be a very difficult work, even when nothing more was intended by it, than to know, what his estate (or *riches*) was. But even from these words it appears, that an account was taken of the estates of the people, as well as their names and conditions of life. And the Censors must have made an estimation: Otherwise,

(z) Et quidem cum ad census novo tum opere & inadsueto Galliis, ad bellum avocatus esset. Quod opus, quam arduum nobis sit, nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra quam ut publice notae sint facultates nostrae exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus. *Vid. Lips. excurs. ad Tacit. Ann. xi. A.*

the value could never have been known with any certainty. Besides I think, that all the Emperour intends here, is, that he could easily conceive with what difficulty a census was at first introduced into a province, when even now a fresh census was seldom made without some disturbance. And as a proof of this, he instances in the rebellion, which the first census of *Gaul* produced in that countrey (*a*). And though he calls this renewing a census, only an enquiry, that his estate or revenue might be publicly known: yet certainly the tribute to be paid according to the census is not to be excluded. Princes do not, nor is it reasonable they should, reckon their people only, all their riches. The revenue arising from the tribute or taxes which they pay is certainly a part of the Prince's riches. The Emperour's meaning therefore is, that the making of a census now is not the imposing any new hardship: the great use of them is to preserve exactness and order in the state of the revenues; and yet they give

(*a*) *Livie* speaks likewise of this disturbance. *Tumultus, qui ob censum exortus erat, compositus. Epitome libri 137. Liviani.*

people uneasiness : How much more must they have done so formerly ?

Moreover, the taxing afterwards made in *Judea* was certainly a census of goods as well as persons. And yet when St. *Luke* makes mention of it in *Gamaliel's* (b) speech, he uses the same word he does here.

All the first Christians thought, this was a census of goods. It is apparent that *Justin Martyr* thought so, in that he tells the Emperour and the Senate, it was made by their first Procurator in *Judea*. *Tertullian* makes no scruple to call it very plainly a census. And *Eusebius* in his chronicle says expressly, that enrolments were then made of goods as well as of persons. All these considerations, if I mistake not, render it highly probable, that according to St. *Luke*, there was now a proper census made in *Judea* throughout the territories of *Herod*.

But though it be supposed, that here was now a census made, yet a census is not a tax. Assessments were certainly made, that tribute might be paid according to them : and where a census was made, a tribute might be required. But yet it might be

(b) Μὲν τὸν ἀνίστη Ἰέδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἀπογραφῆς. *Act. v. 37.*

forbore or remitted. And whether any tribute was raised upon this census or not, I leave at present undetermined.

Supposing the affair St. *Luke* gives us an account of to have been a Roman census, it is possible two or three enquiries may be here made. (1.) What occasion was there for *Joseph* to enrolle himself, since he was a poor man; as may be concluded from the lesser offering, which the Virgin made at the temple for her purification?

I answer, that it was the custom in a Roman census, for persons of all employments and characters to enter themselves; as appears from the descriptions given of it, in the authors which I have before quoted. And though *Joseph* was not a rich man, it does not follow he had nothing. However, whatever his condition was, the edict obliged him to give in an account of himself to the officers; unless there was a particular exception made, and only such persons were required to appear who were possessed of estates to such a value. *Augustus* seems once to have made such a census of the Roman Citizens (c). But that this was not the

(c) Ἀυτοῦς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς, τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων, καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων ἑσίων κικλημένων, ἐποίησατο. Τὰς γὰρ ἀσθύνει

the usual method, is evident, because this particular circumstance of that census is mentioned as somewhat extraordinary.

(2.) Since *Joseph* lived in *Galilee*, how came he to go up from thence to be registered at *Bethlehem*?

To this I answer, that possibly he might be obliged to it by virtue of some clause in the edict. *Ulpian* says (*d*), that persons ought to enroll themselves in the place where their estate lies. Though *Joseph* was not rich, yet he might have some small inheritance in or near *Bethlehem*, and might be obliged to go thither upon that account. But this I do not insist upon here.

St. *Luke* gives us this reason of his going to *Bethlehem*: *because he was of the house and lineage of David.* v. 4. It is probable, that this journey was owing to the custom of the *Jews*, who, whenever they were numbered, entred themselves according to their tribes and families. If against

ἀσθινεῖς, τὸς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκίας ἐκ ἡνάγκῃ ἀπογράφασθαι, δέισας μὴ νυλίσωσί τι ταραχθῆναι. *Dio. l. 55. p. 557. B.*

(*d*) Is verò qui agrum in aliâ civitate habet, in eâ civitate profiteri debet, in quâ ager est. Agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare, in cujus territorio possidetur. 4. §. 2. ff. de censibus.

S f

this

this it be objected, That the *Jews* had lost the registers of their families before this time : I answer, that this does not appear. They were reckoned by them to be of great importance. And it is not unlikely, that many, if not most of them, had the registers of their families, till the final ruine of their state and constitution, and perhaps for some time after it. *Anna* is said to be the

Luke ii. 36. daughter of *Phanuel*, of the TRIBE OF AS-

Acts iv. 36. SER. *Barnabas* was a LEVITE. *Paul* af-

Rom. xi. 1. firms, that he was of the TRIBE OF BEN-

Phil. iii. 5. JAMIN. And these two were born in fo-

reign countreys, the one in *Cyprus*, the o-
ther at *Tarsus*.

Josephus, the *Jewish* Historian, having mentioned the time of his birth, and the names of several of his ancestors, says,
“ Thus have I given an account of my fa-
“ mily, as I found it in the public re-
“ cords (e).” It is true, *Josephus* was of the race of the priests, and their registers might be kept with greater care and exactness than others : But it is evident from what he says of the marriages of the priests,

(e) Τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ γένει ἡμῶν διαδοχὴν ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις Δίλλοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εἶδον, ὅπως παραθέμαι. *Joseph. in vit. init.*

that the registers of other families were in being likewise. " Every priest, says he, " among us is obliged to marry a woman of " his own nation, and not so much to re- " gard money or any other advantages, but " to make an exact enquiry into her descent, " and to accept of no account but what is " well attested. This is done not in *Judea* " only, but in all places ; where-ever there " is any part of our nation, this law re- " lating to the marriages of the priests is " most carefully observed ; I mean, in *E-* " *gypt* and *Babylon*, and every other part " of the world, in which any of our priests " live (f)."

(3.) What necessity was there, for the *Virgin Mary* to go to *Bethlehem* ? Surely every master of a family was not obliged by a Roman census, to appear before the officer, with his wife, children and servants, if he had any.

(f) Δεῖ γὰρ μίλιχον τῆς ἱερουσάλης ἐξ ὁμοιότητος γυναικὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς χρήματα μηδὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποδίδειν τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γένος ἐξετάζειν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λαμβάνοντα τὴν διαδοχὴν, καὶ πολλὰς παρασχόμενον μάστιγας καὶ ταῦτα πράττω-
μεν ὁ μόνον ἐκ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀλλ' ὅπου ποτὶς σύστημα τῶ γένους
ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, κακίῃ τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποσώζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περὶ τὸς γά-
μους κ. τ. λ. *Cont. Apion. l. i. §. 7.*

I answer, that I know not of any obligation she was under by virtue of *Augustus's* edict to go to *Bethlehem* at this time : But yet *Joseph* and *Mary* might choose it. And they might have very good reasons for it that we are unacquainted with. *St. Luke* Luke ii. 41, 42. says, *Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the Passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast. And yet by the lawe of Moses, the males only were obliged to appear before God at the great feasts. And many learned men are of opinion, that our Saviour did not go up to Jerusalem till this passover, (which St. Luke here speaks of,) when he was twelve years of age : though his parents, Mary, as it seems, as well as Joseph, had gone up to Jerusalem every year : that is, from their last settlement in Galilee, after their return from Egypt.*

3. I shall now give a general description of the state and condition of *Judea* under *Herod*, that we may be able to judge, whether a Roman census could be made in it by virtue of a decree of *Augustus*.

The *Roman Empire* extended at this time to all the most considerable countreys of the known

known world, whether situated in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Africa*. Beside those countreys which were properly called provinces, and were governed by officers sent from *Rome*, with the title of Presidents, Praetors, or Proconsuls; there were other countreys governed by Kings, Tetrarchs or Dynasts, dependent upon the Roman state.

In the state and condition of these dependent Princes, there was a considerable difference. Some few received their crown from the Emperour, and acknowledged a dependence, but paid no tribute (*g*); among the rest, who were in a more proper subjection, some were called Friends of the Emperour, or the Roman State. This was undoubtedly a very great honour, especially when conferred in form (*b*). These Friends of the *Romans* furnished them with a part of their troops, or with sums of money up-

(*g*) Ἡς [Ἀρμενίας] Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ ἀρχῆς μὲν εἰς φόρον κομισθῆν. αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τὰς βασιλείας. *Appian. in Praef. init.*

(*b*) Cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis, repetitus ex vetusto mos, missusque è senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua munera patrum daret, regemque ἔσ' socium, atque amicum appellaret. *Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 26. vid. ἔ' aliud exemplum apud Dionys. Hal. lib. v. cap. 35. p. 291.*

on particular occasions ; or made presents to the Emperour and his ministers, when needful : that is, they paid tribute in the gentlest way. Others were more properly tributary, and were obliged to the payment of certain sums of money : but it is generally supposed, that they raised it themselves among their people by their own officers. But I suspect that many of those princes, called Friends, were properly tributary, and that the Emperour had an officer in the territories of most of them who took care of his revenue. Beside these, there were (if I mistake not ;) some countreys under the government of dependent Kings, in which a tribute was raised in the way of a Roman census.

That *Herod* was a dependent prince, I think was never denied. He obtained the kingdom of *Judea* at first by virtue of a decree of the Roman (i) Senate ; and was assisted in taking possession of it by Roman troops commanded by their own (k) officers. *Augustus* gave him leave to nominate, for his successor, which of his sons he pleased. But yet in his last will there was a clause,

(i) *Joseph. de Bell. l. i. cap. 14. fn.*

(k) *Ibid. cap. 18.*

by which the final determination of all was submitted to the will and pleasure of the Emperour. And after his death his sons were obliged to go to *Rome* (l), to obtain the grant and confirmation of *Augustus*, before they dared to take possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

That *Herod* was tributary to *Augustus*, immediately before his death, seems evident from the sentence pronounced by the Emperour, after he had considered *Herod's* will.

"To *Archelaus* were given, says *Josephus*,
" *Idumea*, and *Judea*, and the countrey of
" the *Samaritans*. These were eased of a
" fourth part of their tribute, *Cesar* decree-
" ing them this relief, because they had not
" joyned with the other people in their late
" disturbances (m)." I think it most reason-
able to understand this of a tribute paid, or
to be paid, not to *Herod* or *Archelaus*, but
to the Emperour. If the *Samaritans* were
tributary to *Cesar*, the *Jews* were so like-
wise. It is plain, these were not more fa-

(l) *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 2.*

(m) Τα δὲ Ἀρχελαῷ συνελθὼντα Ἰδυμαῖά τε καὶ Ἰουδαία, τὸ, τε
Σαμαρειτικόν· τετάρτῃ μέρει ἔτοι τῶν φόρων παρελέλυτο, Καίσαρ
αὐτοῖς κέφισιν ψηφισαμένον, διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποσῆσαι τῇ λοιπῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ· *Joseph. Ant. l. 17. c. xiii. §. 4. vid. & de Bell. l. ii.
c. vi.*

vored, than the former. And they were both equally subject to *Herod* and *Archelaus*.

That *Herod* had been always tributary to the *Roman Empire*, may be inferred from what *Agrippa* the younger says to the *Jews* in his speech to dissuade them from the war. "At this time, *says he*, the desire of liberty is unseasonable. It had been much better to have maintained it with vigour formerly.—Then all ought to have been done that was possible, to have kept out the *Romans*, when *Pompey* first entered into this land. But our ancestors, and their kings, superior to you in wealth, in strength and conduct, yielded to a small part of the *Roman* power. And you now the hereditary subjects of the *Romans* attempt to resist their whole Empire (n)." And *Josephus* in his speech to the *Jews* be-

(n) Ἄλλα μὲν τότε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄωρον, δέον ὑπὲρ τὸ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον· — τότε γὰρ ἔν ἰσχυρῇ πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μὴ διέξασθαι Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέβαινε τῆς χώρας ὁ Πομπηΐδης· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀμείνον ὑμῶν πολλὰ διακείμενοι, πρὸς μοῖραν ὀλίγην τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἐκ ἀντίσχεον· ὑμεῖς δὲ, οἱ τὸ μὲν ὑπακχεῖν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρειληφότες — πρὸς ὅλην ἀνδίσασθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν· *Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 1085. 1086.*

sieged

sieged in *Jerusalem*, to persuade them to surrender to *Titus*, plainly dates the beginning of the *Jewish servitude* to the *Romans* from *Pompey's* conquest of *Judea* (o). It may be concluded from hence, that from that time the *Jews* were tributary to the *Romans*. Subjection and servitude must needs imply the paying of tribute.

Appian mentions *Herod* King of the *Idumeans* and *Samaritans* among the other Kings, who, according to *Mark Antony's* direction, were to bring in a certain prescribed tribute (p). *Antony* and *Herod* were always very good friends, and it cannot be supposed that *Herod* was better used by *Augustus*, than he had been by *Antony*.

In the story of the difference between *Herod* and *Syllaeus* the *Arabian*, which difference seems to have arose about three years before *Herod's* death, and to have continued a year or two at least, if not as long as *Herod* lived, there is a passage that de-

(o) Πόθιν δ' ἡρξάμεθα δουλείας, αἳ ἔχ' ἐκ γένεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβύλου, καὶ Ἰρκανὸς μανία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπηίου ἐπήγαγε τῇ πόλει, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἐκ ἀξίως ἐλευθερίαν· *id. ibid. l. v. cap. ix. p. 242. fin.*

(p) Ἴση δὲ πρὸς καὶ βασιλείας ὡς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἅρα τιταμείοις·—Ἰδυμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρίων, Ἡρώδης· *Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. p. 1135.*

serves

serves to be observed in this place. “ *Syllaeus* moreover bribed *Fabatus*, *Cesar*’s “ *Procurator*, and employed him against *Herod*. But *Herod* by a larger sum of money drew off *Fabatus* from *Syllaeus*, and by him required the performance of those things which *Cesar* had ordered [to be done by *Syllaeus*]. However *Syllaeus* went on in his old way, performed none of those things; and moreover accused *Fabatus* to *Caesar*, saying, that he was a *Procurator* more in *Herod*’s interests than the Emperour’s (q).” By *Procurator* can be meant no other than an officer that took care of the Emperour’s revenue. And the nature of the charge seems to imply, that *Fabatus* had a trust under the Emperour in *Herod*’s dominions. This indeed may be questioned, because that afterwards, *Syllaeus* having killed *Fabatus*, *Aretas* the King of *Arabia* prosecuted *Syllaeus* at *Rome* for the murder of *Fabatus*, as well as for other

(q) Πείσας δὲ [Συλλαίου] πολλοῖς χρήμασι Φαβάτον τὸν Καίσαρος διοικητὴν, ἔχρητο βοηθῶ καὶ καθ’ Ἡρώδου πλείονα δὲ δὲς Ἡρώδης, ἀφίστησι τε ἀπὸ Συλλαίου Φαβάτον, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆ τὰ κεινυθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπρατιν· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἀποδῶς, ἔτι καὶ κατηγορεῖ Φαβάτη πρὸς Καίσαρα, διοικητὴν εἶναι λέγων, ὃ τῶν ἐκείνου, τῶν δὲ Ἡρώδου συμφερόντων. *Joseph. de Bell. l. 1. c. 29. p. 1030. v. 21.*—

crimes committed by him (r). And from hence it may be inferred by some, that *Fabatus* was rather an officer in *Arabia*. Let it be so. However, here is a proof, that the Emperour had a Procurator to take care of his tribute or revenue in the countrey of a dependent Prince : for such was the King of *Arabia*. And it is not impossible, that *Fabatus* might be concerned in both those Kingdoms, of *Judea* and *Arabia*.

Upon the whole then, *Herod* was always a dependent tributary Prince. Whether he was at last obliged to submit to a census, will be the subject of enquiry under the next head.

All that I would shew farther here is, that a census was not inconsistent with the rights allowed to these dependent Princes, according to the Roman constitution. This is generally denied, therefore some proof must be given of it. But it cannot be expected, that I should produce many examples of a census in dependent kingdoms : partly, because the Roman historians never take any notice of these things, unless they are attended with some accidents that render them remarkable : and partly, because the *Romans* had several ways of raising tribute ; and a

(r) *Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 3.*

census,

census, which was the most disagreeable way of all, was not used in all those countreys that were properly provinces.

After the battle of *Philippi*, in which *Brutus* and *Cassius* were defeated, *Mark Antony* went over into *Asia*, and coming to *Ephesus*, summoned the States of the nations thereabout to give him a meeting. In a speech he made to these States, among other things, he tells them: "Your King *Attalus* bequeathed his kingdome to us by testament. Our government has been milder than his was. For we remitted the taxes you had been wont to pay to him, till men of turbulent spirits arose amongst us, and laid us under a necessity of demanding tribute of you. And even then we did not impose it upon you in the way of a census, that we might collect it with less hazard and trouble to our selves; and we required only the annual payment of a sum of money out of the produce of your countrey (s)." In the conclusion they agreed to pay a whole nine years tribute in two years time. The battle of *Phi-*

(s) Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδήσιν, ὃ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῶν ἐπιθήκαμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἰκαστῶν καρπῶν ἐπιτάξομεν. *Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. p. 1074.*

ippi was fought (t) A. U. 712. *Attalus* died (u) A. U. 621. So that *Asia (Pro-
pria)* had been a province 90 years, and yet they had not had any census among them. It is not likely therefore, that we should meet with many instances of a census made in dependent kingdoms.

Tacitus however has given us one instance. "About this time, says he, the *Cilicians* subject to *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* (x), being required to enroll themselves in our way, and to pay tribute accordingly, withdrew themselves into the fastnesses of mount *Taurus*: and by the advantage of the situation, maintained themselves against the weak forces of the King; till *Marcus Trebellius* came into his assistance from *Vitellius* President of *Syria* with four thousand Roman soldiers, and a body of Auxiliaries (y)."

By

(t) *Vid. Petavii Rationarium Temporum Part i. lib. iv. cap. 20.*

(u) *Vid. ibid. cap. 14.*

(x) Or, that had been subject to *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*.

(y) Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebantur, in juga Tauri Montis abscessit: locorumque ingenio sese contra regis imbelles copias tutabantur; donec M. Trebellius

By *Cilicia* I here understand, not *Cilicia the Plain*, [*Cilicia Campestris*,] which had been a Roman province long before this; but *Cilicia the Rugged*, [*Aspera*,] which had been annexed by *Augustus* to the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* (z). It is true, that upon the death of old *Archelaus* A. U. 770. A. D. 17. (a), the kingdom of *Cappadocia* was reduced to the state of a (b) province; and this disturbance, which *Tacitus* here speaks of, is placed by him in A. U. 789. A. D. 36 (c). But *Tacitus* has nowhere said, that this *Cilicia* was made a province. If it had, he must have known it; and could not have spoke of it, as he does here. He says, that the people maintained themselves in their fastnesses against the *King's weak forces*, till a General arrived from *Vitellius* with a reinforcement of Ro-

Trebellius Legatus a Vitellio praefide Syriae cum quatuor milibus legionariorum, & delectis auxiliis missus, duos colles, quos barbari infederant, operibus circumdedit: & erumpere ausos, ferro; ceteros, siti ad deditionem coegit. *Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 41.*

(z) *Vid. Strabonem lib. xiv. p. 987. D.*

(a) C. Coelio L. Pomponio Coss.

(b) Regnum in provinciam redactum est. *Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.*

(c) Q. Plautio & Sext. Papinio Coss.

man soldiers. If it had been a province, he would have said, that the people had been too hard for the troops, which the Prefect had with him. And this account is in the main confirmed by several other historians, who say, that this *Cilicia* was governed by Kings till the time of *Vespasian* (d).

Nor is it very hard to trace the fortune of this people from the begining of the reign of *Caligula* to *Vespasian*. For *Dio* says, that *Caligula* gave the *Maritime Cilicia*, (which was another name of this countrey,) to *Antiochus*, as an accession to his kingdome of *Comagene* (e). Before *Caligula* died, he took it away from him. By *Claudius* it was again restored to the same *Antiochus* (f). And from an account, which *Tacitus* has given of another tumult of this people, A. U.

(d) Item Thraciam, Ciliciam, & Comagenem ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciae formam redegit. *Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 8.* Item Thraciam, Ciliciam Tracheam, & Comagenam, quae sub regibus amicis fuerant, in provinciarum formam redegit [*Vespasianus*]. *Eutrop. lib. vii. cap. 19.*

(e) Ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος τῷ Ἀντίοχῳ τὴν Κομμαγενὴν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας δός· *Dio l. 59. p. 645. D.*

(f) Καὶ μετὰ τῷτο τῷ τε Ἀντίοχῳ τὴν Κομμαγενὴν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γαίος, καὶ περ αὐτὸς οἱ δὲς αὐτὴν, ἀφῆρτε·) *id. lib. 60. p. 670. A.*

805. A. D. 52. [*Fausto Sulla & Salvio Othone Coss.*] they appear to have been then subject to *Antiochus* (g). And it is likely they continued under him, till it was made a province by *Vespasian*; because *Comagene* also was at that time reduced to a province, as appears from *Suetonius* and *Eutropius* already quoted; and from *Josephus*, who says, that this *Antiochus* was dispossessed of all his dominions in the fourth year of *Vespasian* (h).

The only difficulty is, who they were subject to, when this census was ordered to be made among them in the later end of *Tiberius*'s reign. For by the manner, in which the first words of this passage of *Tacitus* are quoted by Cardinal *Noris* (i), and by *Pagi* (k) from him, they must have understood by *Archelao subiecta*, the people that had

(g) Nec multo post agrestium Cilicium nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum, saepe & alias commotae, tunc Trosobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere. — Dein rex ejus orae Antiochus, blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, cum barbarorum copias dislocasset, Trosobore paucisque primoribus interfectis, ceteros clementia composuit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 55.*

(h) *Vid. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 7.*

(i) *Noris Cenotaph. Pis. Diff. ii. pag. 308.*

(k) *Appar. ad Annal. num. 127.*

been *subject* to *Archelaus*, that is, to *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*. However, *Lipsius* and *Muretus* (1) understand *Tacitus* to say, that they were then *subject* to *Archelaus*, a son of the former *Archelaus*, who died at *Rome*, A. U. 770.

I am under no obligation to determine this matter, because it is the same thing to my purpose, whether they were now subject to the King of *Comagene*, or some other dependent prince, or whether they were subject to a son of the old *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*; the *imbelles regis copiae*, the King's weak forces, proving they were under a King. But it seems to me most natural to interpret *Tacitus*, as *Lipsius* does. The *imbelles regis copiae* imply, that a King had been mentioned before; and therefore *Archelao subjecta* cannot be very fairly understood to mean no more than a description of these *Cilicians*, to distinguish them from others of that name.

Tiberius had been indeed very angry with old *Archelaus*. But nevertheless he might be willing, when he had made his kingdom of *Cappadocia* a province, to give one of his sons this small appendage of it. This

(1) *In loc.*

Cilicia was far from being any strong temptation. The countrey was mountainous, and the people were apt to turn to robbery or piracy, and for these reasons they had been given before by *Augustus* to the above-mentioned *Archelaus* (m). *Cappadocia* had been a very rich booty to *Tiberius*. Upon it's being made a province, by the ready money and effects of *Archelaus*, and the revenues of the countrey, such sums came into the public treasury of the *Romans*, that their tax called the hundreth fell immediately to a two hundreth (n). We may therefore suppose, that by *Archelaus* here is meant a son of the former King of *Cappadocia*, though he be an obscure person. And the weakness of the King's forces is an argument, that he was no considerable prince, and that these people were his only subjects.

Though here be but one example, it is sufficient for my design. I believe it was disgraceful to a prince, to have a census made in his dominions. However, *Tacitus* does not insinuate, that there was any

(m) *Vid. Strabo. l. xiv. p. 987. D.*

(n) Regnum ejus in provinciam redactum est; fructibusque ejus levare posse centesimae vectigal, professus Caesar, ducentesimam in posterum statuit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.*

injustice in it, or that it was absolutely inconsistent with the rights indulged to dependent princes : and the King, to whom this people were subject, supported this census, as far as he was able.

4. I am now to enquire, whether we have any reasons to believe, that there was a census made in *Judea* at this time.

We can hope for no light in this matter from any author but *Josephus*, except the notice which the Christian writers have taken of it. If we will rely upon them, I think the point is decided already : but at present we will lay aside their testimonies, and confine our enquiries to *Josephus*.

That *Herod* was always tributary, has been proved. I apprehend, that toward the later end of his reign there was some alteration made in his circumstances for the worse. In order to judge of the evidence there is for it, we must trace the history of *Herod's* affairs about this time.

Obodas was now King of *Arabia*, and *Syllaeus* his chief officer under him, who indeed administered all affairs of that countrey with almost kingly authority. *Herod* had lent *Obodas* a considerable sum of money : When the time of payment came, *Herod* demand-

ed the money, but in vain. Moreover a band of robbers had infested *Herod's* dominions and carried off several of his subjects, and were afterwards sheltered by *Obodas* and *Syllaeus* in *Arabia*. These differences between the two courts of *Judea* and *Arabia* were brought before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, the Emperour's chief officers in *Syria*, the neighbouring province. Here it was stipulated, that *Herod* should surrender to *Obodas* all the *Arabians* he had in his custody, and that *Obodas* should release all *Jewish* prisoners, and pay the money he owed in thirty days time (o). But when that time was expired, none of these conditions were performed on the part of the *Arabians*. And *Syllaeus*, full of resentment against *Herod*, sails for *Rome*. The terms agreed upon not having been performed by *Obodas*, *Herod*, with the consent of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, marches into *Arabia*, and routs the forces that opposed him. Advice of this is immediately sent to *Syllaeus* then in *Italie*. He procures an audience of *Augustus*; tells him, That *Herod* had made an incursion into *Arabia*, laid waste the countrey, and killed five and twenty hundred *Arabians*

(o) *Joseph. Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 9. p. 734.*

with their General. *Augustus* having heard this, enquires of *Herod's* friends at *Rome*, and of persons who arrived from *Syria*, whether this was matter of fact. Being assured it was, without ever asking the occasion, "He writes a letter to *Herod* in very angry terms (p). The substance of this letter was ; That whereas he had hitherto "treated him as a FRIEND, he should for "the future treat him as a SUBJECT.

Herod then sent ambassadours to *Rome* : But they were forced to return, without so much as obtaining an audience. A second ambassy likewise went to *Rome* without any effect (q).

In the mean time *Obodas* dies, and *Aretas* takes upon him the crown of *Arabia* : and then sends away ambassadours to *Rome*, with large presents ; withal accusing *Syllaeus*, his predecessor's chief minister, of many great crimes. But *Syllaeus* was still in great favour at *Rome*, and *Augustus* was offended, that *Aretas* had taken upon him the

(p) Ὁργή τε μείζων ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, τότε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς, καὶ τὸτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσιται· id. ibid. p. 735.

(q) p. 736. init.

government of *Arabia* without first obtaining his leave. And sent back the ambassadors, without receiving the presents, or admitting them to an audience. “ The affairs of these two kingdoms of *Judea* and *Arabia* were then in a very bad posture. In one there was a King not confirmed in his government. And *Herod* having lost the Emperour’s favour, was forced to submit to many disgraces and affronts. Seeing no end of these evils, he resolved to send once more an embassy to *Rome*, and to try whether he could gain friends there, and by them recover the Emperour’s good will. The person sent upon this occasion was *Nicolas* of *Damascus* (r). ”

This *Nicolas*, who was ever firm to *Herod*’s interest, was a man of great abilities, and of admirable address. When he came to *Rome*, *Syllaeus*’s power was declining: New informations against him had been brought from *Arabia*, and *Nicolas* artfully

(r) Τα δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν, αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιδιδόνου, — τῶν μὲν βασιλείων, ὁ μὲν ἔγω τὴν ἀρχὴν βεβαίαν ἔχον· Ἡρώδης δὲ, ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμύνετο τάχιον, ὀργισθέντος αὐτῷ Καίσαρος ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομίας φέρειν ὑναίκαζέτο· πείρας δὲ ὄντων προεστώτων κακῶν, ἔγνω πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν, ἵνα εἴη δυνατόν μετρίωτερον εὐρεῖν διὰ τε τῶν φίλων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχίαν ποιησάμενον· κ. τ. λ. p. 736.

joining

joining in with the *Arabians*, procures an audience of *Augustus*; and having first supported the charges brought by them against *Syllaeus*, he proceeded to the defense of *Herod*. “Here the Emperour stopped him short, and bid him answer, whether *Herod* had not marched his forces into *Arabia*, and slain five and twenty hundred men?” To which *Nicolas* replied: That the things the Emperour had heard concerning *Herod* were in part true and in part false, and that the occasion of all had been concealed from him. He informed the Emperour of the differences between *Obodas* and *Herod*: That certain stipulations had been entered into in the presence of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*: That *Syllaeus* had sworn by the Emperour’s Fortune, that the terms agreed upon should be punctually executed, but that nothing had been done: That *Herod* had not moved his forces, till he had first obtained the consent of the Emperour’s chief officers in *Syria*, and that the numbers of the slain had been very much magnified. *Augustus*, perceiving that his displeasure against *Herod* had been built upon misrepresentations, was appeased; and at length pronounced a sentence, that *Syllaeus* should re-

turn home, give *Herod* satisfaction, and then be punished for his crimes (*s*).

Some time after this we have an account of some disturbances in *Herod's* family. — A very strict friendship had commenced between *Antipater Herod's* eldest son, *Pheroras Herod's* brother, and *Pheroras's* wife, who was particularly disagreeable to *Herod*. *Salome, Herod's* sister, who knew almost every thing, suspected that these three were carrying on designs against her brother. She came and told him what she knew; and *Herod* had had some intelligence before, and was full of suspicions, but what he had heard was not fully confirmed. There follows immediately upon this, a passage of so extraordinary a nature, that it must be transcribed without any abridgement. “ There “ was moreover, says (*t*) *Josephus*, a cer-
tain

(*s*) *Id. ibid. cap. 10. pag. 740. 741.*

(*t*) Καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόνον τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ ἀκριβέσι μέγα φρονεῖν τῇ πατρὶς νόμῳ, οἷς χαίρειν τὸ θεῖον προσποιούμενοι ὑπὸ κλέῳ ἢ γυναικωνίτις· Φαρισαῖοι καλεῖσθαι, βασιλεῦσι δυνάμει μάστιγα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, καὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ εἰς τὸ πολέμῳ τε καὶ βλάβῃ ἐπιτηρμένοι· πάντες γὰρ τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ βεβαιώσαντο· δι' ὅρων ἢ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, οἳ δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ ὤμοσαν, ὅτις ὑπὲρ ἐξακισχίλιοι· καὶ αὐτοὶ βασιλεῖς ζημιώσαντο χρήμασι, ἢ Φερώρη γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φέρι.

“ tain sect of *Jews*, who valued themselves
 “ highly for their exact knowledge of the
 “ lawe; and talking much of their interest
 “ with God, were greatly in favour with
 “ the women. They are called *Pharisees*,
 “ men who had it in their power to con-
 “ troll Kings; extremely subtle, and ready
 “ to attempt any thing against those whom
 “ they did not like. When therefore the
 “ whole *Jewish* nation took an oath to be
 “ faithful to *Cesar*, and the interests of the
 “ King, these men to the number of above
 “ six thousand refused to swear. The King
 “ having laid a fine upon them, *Pheroras*’s
 “ wife paid the money for them. They,
 “ in requital for this her kindnesse (for they

φίρει· οἱ δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν ἱστοίαν αὐτῆς, πρόβωσι δὲ ἐπιτιγίσ-
 νησιν ἐπιφοιτήσει τῷ Θεῷ, πρὸς λέγον ὡς Ἡρώδης μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρ-
 χῆς ὑπὸ Θεῷ ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γίνε τῷ ἀπ’ αὐτῶ, τῆς τε
 βασιλείας εἰς τε ἐκείνην περιηξέσης καὶ Φερώραν, παιδᾶς τε οἱ εἶν
 αὐτοῖς. Καὶ τάδε, ὃ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν τὴν Σαλώμην, ἐξαγγιγνὰ
 βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν διαφθείροιν τινας· καὶ ὁ
 βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τῆς αἰτιωτάτης ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ Βαγῶας τὸν
 ἱνῶχον, Κάρων τε τινὰ τῶν τότε πρῆχοντα ἀρετῇ τῷ ἱνῶχῳ, καὶ
 παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτῷ· κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι τῷ ἐκείνῳ συνεγίχκει
 οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος· ἔλεγεν· Ἦρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγῶας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς πατήρ
 τε καὶ εὐεργέτης ὀνομασθησόμενος, τῷ ἐπικατασταθσομένῳ προῖξήσει
 βασιλείας, κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πάντα εἶναι, παρέξοντι αὐτῷ
 γάμου τε ἰσχὺν, καὶ παιδώσεως τέκνων γνησίων· *Antiq.* 17. cap. 2.
 § 6.

“ were

“ were supposed, by their great intimacy
“ with God, to have attained to the gift of
“ foreknowledge;) foretold, that God hav-
“ ing decreed to put an end to the govern-
“ ment of *Herod* and his race, the king-
“ dome would be transferred to her and
“ *Pheroras* and their children. *Salome*, who
“ was ignorant of none of these things,
“ came and told the King of them, and as-
“ sured him likewise, that many of the court
“ were corrupted by them. Then the King
“ put to death the most guilty of the *Phari-*
“ *sees*, and *Bagoas* the eunuch, and one
“ *Carus*, the most beautiful young man a-
“ bout the court, and the great instrument
“ in the King’s unlawful pleasures. He
“ likewise slew every one in his own fami-
“ ly, who adhered to those things which
“ were said by the *Pharisees*. But *Bago-*
“ *as* had been elevated by them, in that he
“ should be called father and benefactor,
“ the King, who was to be appointed ac-
“ cording to their prediction, (for all things
“ would be in his power;) being to give
“ him a capacity of marriage, and of hav-
“ ing children of his own.”

In the margin (u) I justify my version of this passage, as to one particular, in which it is singular. But beside that, possibly

* (u) This passage of *Josephus* has been already quoted very often by learned men, who have treated of this *census*, or of the true time of our Saviour's nativity. But all, whom I have seen, have followed *Gelenius's* version of these last words, which is thus: *Nam Bagoas in eam spem sublatus erat, quasi parens & benefactor appellandus regis, quem destinarent vaticinia; prospere enim cessura novo regi omnia, constabiliendo successionem prolis legitimæ. I suppose they did not look upon the original. If they had, they would have easily perceived his mistake. Nor does the argument, that this affair has a relation to our census, stand thus in it's full force, as will appear by and by. Hudson has very much corrected Gelenius's version, and translates the concluding words thus: Fuit autem per eos elatus Bagoas, quod discerent eum patrem beneficumque appellatum iri ejus, qui ex eorum prædictione creandus rex esset; habiturum enim eum regem omnium rerum potestatem, & Bagoæ vires conciliaturum cum muliere congregandi, propriosque liberos gignendi. But, methinks, the sense of this is not very extraordinary. Bagoas is to receive a great benefit from the King, and bestows none upon him, that I see; and yet he is to be called his Father and Benefactor. I think, that *Josephus* says, that the Pharisees gave out, that Bagoas was to become, or to be called, a Father: and hereby, that is, by his having children, would also be a benefactor to his countrey. I have made no alteration in the original words of *Josephus*. I have only inserted a comma after *ὁνομασθήσόμενος*, and changed the colon after *βασιλέως* to a comma. This interpretation is not my own. I had it from my learned and ingenious friend, Mr. Ward, to whom I am very much indebted for this, and divers other critical observations, which I highly value.*

some may have a scruple about this sentence: *He likewise slew every one of his own family, who adhered to those things which were said by the Pharisees.* The original word is in the singular number, *which were said by the Pharisee*, or *which the Pharisee said*. If any should be apt to think from hence, that this has reference to some thing said by some particular *Pharisee*, I must desire them to consider the context. It is evident from what goes before and follows that period, that the *Pharisees* in general were concerned in this affair, though some only were punished; the *most guilty*, as *Josephus* calls them. The same phrase is in another place used by *Josephus*, where the *Pharisees* in general are intended. Thus he says: “The *Sadducees*, when in office, usually go into “the measures (x) of the *Pharisees*:” In the original it is, *of the Pharisee*.

I take this oath, which *Josephus* here speaks of, to be the same thing with *St. Luke's taxing*, for these reasons.

(1.) As far as I can perceive, this oath must have been taken much about the same time with the taxing or census mentioned by

(x) Ὅποτε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, — προσχωρεῖσι δ' οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 4.

Chap. i. *Luke ii.* 1. 2. *considered.* 633

St. *Luke*, according to all those who place the nativity of *Jesus* some time between twelve, or fifteen months and two years before the death of *Herod*.

(2.) There is a great variety of circumstances attending this oath in *Josephus*, that accord with the history the Evangelists have given us of the birth of *Jesus*. I imagine I am very much prevented by the reader, but I shall specify some of them.

St. *Luke* says: *There went out a decree from CESAR AUGUSTUS, that all the land should be taxed.* The substance of the oath in *Josephus* was, to be faithful to *CESAR*, as well as to *Herod*. An oath is a formal acknowledgement of subjection, as well as an engagement to fidelity. No greater acknowledgement of subjection could be made, than an enrolment in a Roman census. St. *Luke* says, the decree was, that *all the land should be taxed*, and that *all went to be taxed*. *Josephus* agrees with him surprisingly, when he says, that *All the Jewish nation* took the oath, except six thousand *Pharisees*.

St. *Luke's Taxing*, and *Josephus's Oath*, are followed with parallel events. When the wise men came, saying: *Where is he that*

that is born King of the Jews? Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. Josephus's account is a perfect comment upon St.

Matth. ii. 4. Matthew. St. Matthew says: When he
5.

[Herod] had gathered the CHIEF PRIESTS AND SCRIBES of the people together, he demanded of them, where CHRIST should be born. And they said unto him, in Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the PROPHET; and thou Bethlehem—art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a GOVERNOUR THAT SHALL RULE MY PEOPLE ISRAEL. So that all the disturbance at Jerusalem, which St. Matthew speaks of, was on account of the birth of a King of the Jews. It is the same thing in Josephus. And the chief priests and scribes in St. Matthew were undoubtedly of the Pharisees, which are the persons so much spoken of by Josephus. The King in Josephus has a character of the Christ or Messias: for all things would be in his power. Whether the jest upon Bagoas, and through him upon the Pharisees, be of Josephus's own invention; or whether it was an old piece of wit in use among profane people, to banter those who expected great things from the Messias; or whether it be matter of
of

of fact, that some of the *Pharisees* did at that time give any such assurances to some person of influence in *Judea*, the better to carry on selfish designs, I do not determine. But it is an evidence, that the King, who was then the subject of discourse, was supposed to be an extraordinary person.

In *Josephus* the *Pharisees* give out a prediction, that *God had decreed to put an end to Herod's government, &c.* This I take to be the same thing with *the chief priests and scribes (y)*: Thus it is written by the prophet, in *St. Matthew*: that is, what *Josephus* calls a prediction or prophecy of the *Pharisees*, is no more than an interpretation or application of an ancient prophecy. Thus *Josephus* took upon himself the aire and character of a prophet, when he applied the ancient *Jewish* prophecies of the *Messias* to *Vespasian*. He

(y) Unde putas factum, ut eo ipso tempore, proximè post descriptionem Judaicam Pharisei vaticinia ista tractarent, & pro lubitu suo interpretarentur? Numquid res ipsa testimonium perhibet Matthaei narrationi? Nonne audis magos ob oriente quaerentes, ubi natus sit Rex Judaeorum? Nonne Herodem sciscitantem a Phariseis, ubi Christus nasceretur? His enim occasionibus, his Herodis mandatis, Pharisei ad Prophetarum libros remissi, vaticinia de quibus quaerebatur prolata, ad placitum uxoris Pherorae, secretis colloquiis deorserunt. *Kepler. de Anno Natal. Christ. cap. 12.*

was

was taken prisoner by *Vespasian*, then General in *Judea* under *Nero*. *Josephus*, hearing that *Vespasian* had a design to send him to the Emperour, desired he might speak with the General in private. Being brought before *Vespasian*, and all the company being dismissed, except *Titus* and two friends, *Josephus* begins: "You think, *Vespasian*, that you have in *Josephus* a meer prisoner. But I am come to you as a messenger of great things. Had I not been sent to you by God, I knew what the lawe of the *Jews* is, and how it becomes a General to die. Do you send me to *Nero*? What! are they who are to succeed *Nero* before you to continue? You, *Vespasian*, will be *Cesar*: You, and this your son will be Emperour. Bind me therefore still faster, and reserve me for your self. For you shall be lord not of me only, but of the earth and the sea and all mankind. And for punishment I deserve a closer confinement, if I now speak falsehood to you in the name of God (z)." *Josephus*

However, beside the answer given by the *Scribes* to *Herod's* enquiry, we are to

(z) Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ τιμωρίᾳ διόμας φερέας μισθίζω, εἰ καὶ ἄλλοι διαζῶ ἐν αὐτῇ. *Joseph. de Bell. l. iii. c. vii. §. 9.*

remember the speech made by old *Simeon*, an eminent *Pharisee*, at the presentation of *Jesus* at the temple; and that *Anna* a PROPHETESSE gave thanks unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in *Israel*. And there might be many other such like things said there by others; to all which *Josephus*, a Priest, and well informed of what was said and done at the temple, may be justly supposed to have a reference.

St. *Matthew* says, that when *Herod* saw that he was MOCKED of the wise men, he was EXCEEDING WROTH, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the coasts thereof. *Josephus* has given us the tokens of an uncommon rage in *Herod*. And though St. *Matthew* has related, upon this occasion, no other instance of *Herod's* cruelty, beside the orders for destroying the children in and near *Bethlehem*; yet nothing is more likely, than that *Herod*, the most jealous of mortals, should, upon the retreat of the wise men, be filled with suspicions, that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom he had lately consulted about the birth-place of the King of the *Jews*, had been accessory to the disappointment he

had met with from the said wise men : and that being heated by the insinuations of his sister *Salome*, (provided *Josephus* has not brought her in here for the sake of a jest ; and by the barbarous counsels of his son *Antipater*, now in *Judea*, and in high favour he should then make also that cruel ravage in his court and at *Jerusalem*, of which our *Jewish* historian has given us a summary account.

(3.) As I think, that *Josephus* was a very firm *Jew* ; so his indecent way of speaking of this affair is a strong proof, it relates to the transactions at *Jerusalem* after the birth of *Jesus*. Is it not strange, that *Josephus* should banter the *Pharisees* for pretending to the gift of foreknowledge, when he himself, a *Pharisee*, has been most notoriously guilty of it ? I intend not only his speech to *Vespasian*, just now transcribed. There are others, rather more flagrant instances, and that in the history of the (a) *Jewish* wars, writ long before his *Antiquities*, in which is the passage we are upon. His ridicule of the *Pharisees* appears to me very unseasonable in an account of such a scene of cruelty

(a) *Vid. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 3. vid. etiam quæ sequuntur Josephi ad Vespasianum alloquium. ibid. §. 9.*

and when they were under very heavy sufferings. And for what? For refusing the oath of fidelity? No. They had escaped with a *fine* for *not swearing to Cesar*, if there had not followed some offenses more particularly against *Herod*, as is pretended. And what are these? Why predictions and expectations, that the kingdom was by the decree and appointment of God to be transferred to some person not of *Herod's* race: another instance of agreement with the time that succeeded the birth of Jesus, which, according to the Evangelists, was a time of great expectation of a King predicted and prophesied of. But here is not one riotous or seditious action mentioned, or hinted; the utmost is seditious words. And yet *Josephus* justifies, triumphs in these terrible executions. In a word, he, who uses to condemn *Herod* as a man of an inhumane disposition, here treats the *Pharisees* of this time with *Herodian* cruelty.

All this is absolutely unaccountable to me, but upon the supposition, that this affair relates to the birth of Jesus. Nor do I think, that I wrong *Josephus* in the least. It is to me more than probable, that every *Jew*, who did not believe Jesus to be the Christ,

(as *Josephus* did not,) had a great deal of ill-will against him and all his followers. That any Jew of those times should have been long in a state of indifference upon this point, was impossible.

If it be said, that the predictions mentioned by *Josephus* relate not to Jesus, but to *Pheroras's* wife, and her children : I do not deny, but that she might pay a regard to what the *Pharisees* said at this time, as well as others did : but that she, or *Pheroras*, or any one issuing from them was the person then discoursed of, and the chief subject of the *Pharisees* predictions, I do not believe, because it is inconsistent with the rest of *Josephus's* story. If *Pheroras's* wife had been the person chiefly concerned in this affair, as *Josephus* pretends here ; would she have escaped with her life in so wide a scene of cruelty, in which even the former favourites of *Herod* were involved ? If the dispositions of people ran now all toward *Pheroras* and his wife, would *Antipater* have been still great with them ? Would *Antipater*, so desirous of the crown, have gone away to *Rome*, as he did soon after this execution, and leave things in this posture ? Would he, when he went away, leave se
curely

curely in the hands of *Pheroras* and his wife the work of poysoning his father, and securing the succession for himself? Would not *Antipater*, who had lately with exquisite artifice and cruelty accomplished the death of his two brothers, sons of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, have been able to effect the ruine of *Pheroras's* wife?

It is true, after this execution was over, she was called to account by *Herod*.

That it may not be insinuated, that I conceal any difficulty, I will here give the reader *Josephus's* words, which follow next after the long passage we are concerned with. “*Herod* having punished the *Pharisees*, who had been convicted of concerning themselves in this affair, calls a council of his friends, and there accuses *Pheroras's* wife : ascribing to her the affront that had been offered to the virgins (B), and therein to him : adding, that she did all she could to create a difference between him and his brother ; that the fine imposed upon the *Pharisees*

(B) *The Virgins*] The meaning is : *Pheroras's* wife had been his servant. *Herod* had offered *Pheroras* one of his daughters, and after that, another. But *Pheroras* refused them both out of his affection for this woman.

“ had been evaded by her means, and that
 “ in the present affair nothing had been
 “ done without her :——and that if *Phe-*
 “ *roras* had any regard for him, he would
 “ of his own accord put away his wife.
 “ You will then, says he to *Pheroras*, be
 “ my brother indeed, and we shall live (b)
 “ together in friendship.”

If the meaning of the last words of the charge against this woman be not, that in the present affair nothing had been done without her, as I have rendered them, but that now a days nothing was done without her, as Dr. Hudson translates them (c) ; then her conduct in the late affair is not so much as

(b) Ἡρώδης δὲ, κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖςδε ἰσχυ-
 λεγμέναις συνεδρίαις τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων, καὶ κατηγορίας τῶν
 Φερώρων γυναικός, τὴν τε ὕβριν τῶν παρθένων τῇ τολμῇ τῆς γυναι-
 κὸς ἀναλιδεῖς, καὶ ἔκκλημα ταύτην ἀτιμίαν αὐτῷ ποιούμενον, ὥστε
 ἀγωνοθετεῖν γάσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πόλεμον ἐκ φύσεως
 αὐτοῖς καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δι' ἔργων ὅσα δύναίτο, τὴν τε διάλυσιν τῆς ζήτη-
 τὸς ὑπ' αὐτῇ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλεσι διαφευχθῆναι τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῷ
 τε νῦν πεπραγμένων ἔδῃ ὃ, τι ἔμει' αὐτῆς· ἀνθ' ὧν Φερώρα κα-
 λῶς ἔχειν, ἢ δεήσει ἔδῃ γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως τῶν ἐμῶν, αὐτοκτείνου-
 σον ἀποπέμπεσθαι γυναῖκα ταύτην, ὡς πόλεμος τῇ πρὸς με σὺν
 αἰτίαν ἰσομένην· καὶ νῦν, εἰπερ ἀνιποῖται συγγενείας τῆς ἐμῆς, ἀπὸ
 πασθαι τήνδε τὴν γαμήλει· μενεῖς γὰρ ἔτι μὲν ἐμὸς ἀδελφός τις
 σέβειν καὶ ἀπηλλάσμενον. *Antiq.* 17. c. 3. §. 1.

(c) Suisque impendiis evitata esset solutio mulctae ab ipso
 impositae, nihilque jam sine illa ageretur.

made

made any particular crime, but is only comprehended in a general charge of an over busy intriguing temper.

But let it be granted, that *Josephus* says, her conduct in this affair was an express charge in *Herod's* accusation; yet the punishment proposed confutes the supposition, that she was the main agent in this concern. *Herod* assures *Pheroras*, they two should be very good friends, if this woman were but put away. Would this disgrace have satisfied *Herod*, if, beside many other provocations, she had now been the principal in a crime, for which many accessaries, and those in all other respects very acceptable persons, had been punished with death? I hope we may be allowed, not to credit *Josephus* in a circumstance so inconsistent with the rest of his account. And I think, it is not hard to guess, why *Josephus* gave some false turns in this story.

I have one thing more to desire of the reader, that is, that he will be pleased to consider, whether *Josephus* does not contradict himself in the main passage, in which he is so merry. He tells us at first, that the *Pharisees* in requital for the kindness shewed to them, foretold, that God

had decreed to transfer the kingdome to *Pheroras's wife, and Pheroras, and their children* : But at the end, it is *the King, who was to be appointed according to their prediction*. How comes *Pheroras's wife, and Pheroras, and their children* to be all a *King*? Or how came *the King* to be all them? If the reader can reconcile these things together, it will be very well. But if he cannot, perhaps he will allow, that here are some things said of *Pheroras's wife and the Pharisees* without foundation. I ever take it, that inconsistencies are a certain sign, that an historian has not confined himself barely to matter of fact, but has indulged his fancy, or his passions, and gone into fiction.

For these reasons then I think, that the *oath* in *Josephus*, taken by all the *Jewish* nation, is the same thing with the taxing or enrolment mentioned by *St. Luke*. And I think, that this oath refers to a census made in *Judea*, for the following reasons. In a census the people gave in an account of themselves and their estates upon *oath*. It seems to me very probable that a census was made, or at least ordered by *Augustus*, during the time that *Herod* lay under his displeasure. Under the former particular I
shew-

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shewed, that *Herod* had been, before this, a tributary prince. His great subjection appears likewise in the difference between him and *Obodas*. He was obliged to refer the matter in dispute to the Emperour's officers in *Syria*. After *Obodas* had broke the stipulations, *Herod* did not dare to move his forces without the consent of the fore-mentioned officers. And *Augustus*, supposing that he had done so, was very angry, and threatens, that whereas he had *hitherto used him as a friend*, he should for the future treat him as a *subject*. These words are undoubtedly proper and expressive words. If *Herod*, when a *friend* of *Augustus*, was in such subjection; what can a *subject* mean, but the reducing him to the lowest state of dependent princes? which seems to be that of obliging them to submit to a census, and then raising tribute in their dominions according to it.

Josephus says, that after the receipt of this letter from *Augustus*, *Herod* sent in vain two ambassies to *Rome*, that the state of *Judea* grew worse and worse, that *Herod* was obliged to submit to many disgraces. The Emperour's displeasure against *Herod* was manifest therefore, not at *Rome* only, but in all the countreys about *Judea*. (1.)

(1.) But it may be objected, that *Josephus* has no where said, that there was any enrolment of the *Jews*, much less that there was a proper census made in *Judea*.

To this I answer, that it is apparent, there was an enrolment and numbring of the people. How else should all the people have taken an oath, except *six thousand Pharisees*? Did they not enter the people that took the oath? If they did not, how should it have been known, who swore and who did not?

Nor can it be inferred there was no enrolment or census, because *Josephus* has not expressly said there was. *Josephus's* account of this matter is very slight and defective. If it had not been for some things, which followed after the oath, and had some connexion with it, it seems that he would have taken no notice of it at all. An oath had been taken by all the *Jewish* nation to *Cesar* and *Herod*, and great exactness had been observed in relation to it. The numbers and characters of those which had refused were known. This was an affair of importance, and deserved a much more particular account than he has given us. And we are allowed to suppose some things,

things, not expressed, which must necessarily have been concomitants of it.

I do not pretend to assign positively the reasons of his slight mention of this affair. But I apprehend, I can give some probable account of it. *Herod's* subjects were all enrolled in a census, but there was no tribute demanded upon it. *Herod* had great dexterity, or very good fortune in surmounting the difficulties he met with in the several parts of his life. He was himself a man of a great genius, and some of his servants were men of great abilities. *Nicolas* of *Damascus* in particular was eminent for learning and address. And *Herod* knew very well how to bestow a present or a bribe.

I am moreover the rather inclined to think, that no tax was raised upon this census; because it appears that after these troubles, of which *Josephus* has given us an account, *Augustus* was in a great measure reconciled to *Herod*. Perceiving that his resentment against *Herod* had been very much founded upon aspersions, he might be disposed to forbear exacting the tribute upon the census, and to let things go on in the old way. Then *Herod* had taken care, that the

the decree should be obeyed and executed in his dominions without disturbance : all had sworn or enrolled themselves, except *six thousand Pharisees*, and they were fined.

Moreover, *Herod* was now an old man, and had many sons. It was therefore very likely, there would be some partition made of his dominions at his death. And *Augustus* might be very willing there should be so. Three or four little princes are better governed than one that is powerful. Tribute could not be paid according to this census any longer than the several parts of the kingdom continued united in one person. When it came to be divided or parcelled out, a new census would be necessary.

If then no tribute was paid upon this census, an historian could the more easily pass it by without a particular description, especially since it had been finished without any popular tumults.

It may be inferred from the manner in which St. *Luke* mentions this survey, that it was not very much taken notice of. If it had been universally known, there had been hardly any occasion, upon the mention of a decree of *Augustus* in the reign of *Herod* to enroll all the land, to subjoin a parenthesis,

renthefis, the chief intent of which feems to be to diftinguifh this from another that happened not till after the removal of *Herod's* fucceffor.

If this census was not univerfally known when *Joſephus* writ, he might be well pleaſed to touch upon it ſlightly. The *Jewiſh* writers were very forward to enumerate the honours done to their people by the Roman Senate, or the chief men of the Commonwealth, or the Emperours afterwards; the better to gain ſome regard among other nations, by whom they were generally deſpiſed and hated. But as for any diſgraces they received from the *Romans*, the caſe was very different.

Thus *Joſephus* has mentioned many favours conferred on the *Jews* by *Julius Ceſar*, *Auguſtus*, *Livia*, *Marcus Agrippa*, *Claudius*, and other *Romans*: but yet he ſays nothing of the journey, which *Caius*, *Auguſtus's* eldeſt adopted ſon, made through *Judea*, in the begining of the reign of *Archelaus*. This we have from (d) *Suetonius* only, an author very little concern-

(d) Sed & Caium Nepotem, quod Judaeam praetervehens apud Hieroſolymam non ſupplicaffet, collaudavit [*Auguſtus*]. *Suet. in Aug. c. 93.*

ed in *Jewish* affairs. The reason seems to be, that *Caius* offered no sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, nor made any present to the temple, which was deemed a piece of contempt shewn to their religion.

Possibly, *Josephus* found but a slender account of this transaction in the History of *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, from which he took his materials for this reign. Though *Nicolas* was no *Jew*, yet he was a great friend and flatterer of *Herod*: and it could not but be an ungreatful task to him, after he had in the former part of his work drawn his master as a great genius, a founder of cities, and friend of *Augustus*, to describe at last so disagreeable a scene as that of one of the Emperour's officers enrolling all the subjects of his dominions.

Nicolas (e) had great intimacies with *Herod*. *Josephus* has affirmed more than once, that he was a great flatterer (f) of him. And in one place says particularly, “ that living in his kingdom and together
“ with him he composed his history with a
“ view to please the King and advance his

(e) Καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς φίλος τε ὦν τῷ βασιλεῶς, καὶ τὰ πάντα συνδιαίωμενος ἐκείνῳ, κ. λ. *Antiq.* 17. c. 5. §. 3.

(f) *Ibid.* l. xiv. c. 1. §. 3.

“ interest,

“ interest, touching upon those things only
 “ which made for (g) his honour.” This
 enrolment, even though it was not a proper
 assessment, but only an entry of the names
 of all the people, their age and condition,
 accompanied with an oath of strict fidelity
 to the Emperour, must have been the great-
 est mortification of *Herod's* whole life : and
 from the character of *Nicolas*, just set
 down, it may be concluded almost with cer-
 tainty, that he did not give a particular ac-
 count of this affair. Nor had *Josephus* any
 inducements to supply his defects in this
 place.

(2.) But it will be said, that the silence
 of *Josephus* is not the only difficulty : there
 is in him well nigh positive proof, that
 there had been no census or enrolment made
 in *Judea* before the removal of *Archelaus*.
 For upon the occasion of this, he says :
 “ Moreover *Cyrenius* came into *Judea*, it
 “ being annexed to the province of *Syria*,
 “ to make an assessment of their goods,
 “ and seize *Archelaus's* estate. The *Jews*

(g) Ζῶντι γὰρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ, κεχαρισμένως
 ἔκείνῳ καὶ καθ' ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνέγραψεν, μόνον ἀπλόμειον τῶν πρὸς
 ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῷ φερόστων. *Ant.* 16. c. 7. §. 1.

“ were

“ were at first very much moved at the (b)
 “ mention of the enrolments, but by de-
 “ grees they were brought to acquiesce at
 “ the persuasion of *Joazar* the High Priest.”
 He observes also, “ that at this time *Judas*
 “ the *Gaulanite* excited them to a rebellion,
 “ telling them that a census would intro-
 “ duce downright (i) slavery.” It will be
 said : It may be hence inferred, that there
 had been no enrolments made before : if
 there had, they could not have been so
 frightful now.

I answer, that there must have been an
 enrolment made, when the oath mentioned
 by *Josephus* was taken : And that oath was
 likewise an express and solemn acknow-
 ledgement of subjection to the *Romans*.

Besides, though this *oath* had been quite
 omitted by *Josephus*, it would not have fol-
 lowed, that there had been no enrolment
 made before this time in *Judea*. People are
 not always of the same temper. *Judas* of
Galilee now broached or revived the princi-
 ple, that they ought to obey none but God :
 and for some reasons it was received with

(b) Οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ κατ' ἀρχαίαν ἐν δύνῳ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς
 ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασι· *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 1.

(i) *Ibid.*

great applause, spread and gained ground. But the *Jews* must have been more submissive, when they all took the oath to *Cesar*, except six thousand. And after *Herod* was dead, there was a very numerous embassy sent to *Rome* in the name of the whole *Jewish* nation, entreating, that instead of being governed by any of *Herod's* descendants, "they (*k*) might be annexed to the province of *Syria*, and be subject to Praetors sent from thence, promising likewise a most quiet and peaceable behaviour under such a government."

In another place *Josephus* represents *Judas's* arguments in these terms: "And at this time a certain man, called *Judas* the *Galilean*, excited the people to rebellion, telling them, they had a mean spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute to the *Romans*, and acknowledge mortal men for their lords;—after God had been their King (*l*).” It might be as

(*k*) Ἦν δὲ κεφάλαια αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως, βασιλείας μὲν καὶ τοῖων δὲ ἀρχῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, προσθήκην δὲ Συρίας γενομένης ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκείναις πεμπομένοις ἑραρίησιν· κ. τ. λ. *Jos. Ant.* 17. p. 784. v. 35.

(*l*) Κακίζων, εἰ φόρον τι Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομένουσι, καὶ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν οἶσεν διπλότῳ· *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1.*

well inferred from what *Judas* says here, that the *Jews* had never before paid tribute to the *Romans*, or been subject to mortal lords, as from what he says in the other place, that they had never before been enrolled. I presume it need not be proved, that they had been subject, before this, to mortal lords. I think too, that I have shewn, they had been tributary to the *Romans* in the reign of *Herod*. They had likewise paid tribute to the *Romans* before *Herod's* reign : For *Josephus* says, that *Cassius* “ imposed a heavy tribute upon the people [in “ *Syria*]. And in particular bore very “ hard upon *Judea*, exacting of them seven “ hundred talents of silver (m).” This sum was laid in several portions upon the several parts of *Judea* ; and *Herod*, then Governour of *Galilee* under *Hyrchanus*, brought in his quota the first, and thereby very much obliged *Cassius*. *Judas's* speech therefore is no proof, that there had been no enrolment or census made in *Judea* before the removal of *Archelaus*.

(m) Καὶ φόρος αὐταῖς μεγάλος ἐπέβη· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἑρδαίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου εἰσπραττόμενος.
Ant. lib. 14. cap. xi. §. 2.

(3.) I can think of but one difficulty more. Perhaps some will say, my argument is defective, and that in order to make it out, that this *oath*, taken by the *Jews*, in *Josephus*, was a census, I ought to produce some passages of an ancient writer, in which a census is called an *oath*, or the act of the people enrolling themselves in a census is expressed by *taking an oath*. I own then, that I have not any such example by me. However, I would offer here two or three considerations.

[1.] In a Roman census the people gave in their account of themselves and their estates upon oath. And that oath, as represented by *Dionysius*, has a very near resemblance with the words of *Josephus*. *Dionysius* says, the people were commanded to *take an oath to give in a true account, according to the best of their knowledge*: and *Josephus* says, that the whole *Jewish* nation engaged by an (*n*) oath to be *faithful to Cesar and the interests of the King*.

[2.] We

(*n*) There is another thing, which may deserve notice. *Dionysius* says, That the penalty at *Rome* for not enrolling in a census was loss of estate and citizenship. Perhaps the *law* imposed on the *Pharisees*, who refused to swear, was now ordered in conformity to the Roman customs upon like

[2.] We have in the ancient writers very few accounts of assessments made in provinces. The Roman historians scarce ever take any notice of them, but when they were attended with some disturbances which made them remarkable. As we have but very few writers of those times, especially such as lived in the provinces; it is not to be wondered that we meet with some singular phrases in those we have, and which we cannot parallel in any other authors now in our hands. If we had before us the works of a good number of provincial writers, it is not unlikely, but we might see some of them represent their nation enrolling themselves in a census, especially in the first census made in their countrey, by the taking an *oath* of allegiance and fidelity to the Emperour. I shall give an instance from *Josephus*, which has likewise some affinity with our subject. In the *Jewish War* he calls *Fabatus* *Cesar's* procurator (o): In

occasions. For *Herod* had been wont before to inflict punishments of another kind for refusing to swear fidelity to him. *Vid. Antiq. 15. c. 10. §. 4.*

(o) Πείσας δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασι Φάβατον τὸν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν. *De Bell. l. 1. cap. 29. p. 1030. v. 22. vid. E. v. 107.*

Antiquities (p) he calls him *Cesar's* servant. He also calls one *Stephen*, who was in *Judea* in the time of *Cumanus*, *Cesar's* servant. "And (q) at this time, says he, some who aimed at innovations set upon *Stephen* a servant of *Cesar*, in the high-way about a hundred stadia from the city, and robbed him of all he had." I have shewn above, that *Fabatus* was *Augustus's* procurator in the kingdome of *Arabia*, if not also in *Judea*. And that *Stephen* also was procurator in *Judea*, may be concluded from the treasure he had with him, and from his being particularly the object of the spite of the seditious *Jews*, who were uneasy under the Roman government. So that, with *Josephus*, the *Emperour's* servants and the procurator of the *Emperour's* revenue were synonymous terms. If *Josephus* appears at present singular in this stile, yet I doubt not, but it was at that time very common.

(p) — Ἀνηρηκίται δὲ καὶ Φάβαλον Καίσαρος δῶλον. *Antiq.* 17. cap. 3. p. 755. v. 6.

(q) Τῶν γὰρ ἐφιστάτων ἐπὶ νομισμῶν τινὲς, κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ὡς ἐκαλὸν γαδίῳ ἀπώθειν τῆς πόλεως, Στίφανον Καίσαρος δῶλον ὁδοιποροῦντα ληστεύσαντες, ἄπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν κλήσιν διαρπάξουσιν. *Antiq.* 20. cap. 4. §. 4. vid. *de Bell.* p. 1072. v. 32.

[3.] I apprehend, that though the *Jews* entered themselves and their estates in the way of a Roman census, yet there was no tribute raised upon it : which might be the reason of *Josephus's* representing this affair simply by taking an oath, rather than by the name of a census.

I have now laid before the reader the evidence I have for this supposition, that there was a census made in *Judea* a little before the death of *Herod*. The particulars mentioned by St. *Luke*, and the expressions he uses, are very suitable to a census. And the posture of *Herod's* affairs about this time incline me to think there was an enrolment, after the manner of a Roman census, made in his dominions by order of *Augustus*.

But whether I am in the right or not, St. *Luke* certainly says, that there was an enrolment : And *Josephus* says, that the whole *Jewish* nation had taken an oath to be faithful to *Cesar* and *Herod*. Some entry therefore must have been made. And if St. *Luke* be understood to speak only of an enrolment of names and persons, his account is confirmed by *Josephus* as fully as one could wish.

And

And though it should be thought, that I have not fully proved, that there was at this time a proper assessment made in *Judea*; yet I have, I think, shewn undeniably, that about this time that countrey was brought into a very strict subjection to *Augustus*: And herein also St. *Luke* and *Josephus* agree entirely.

I am sensible that they, who have hitherto supposed, that Jesus was not born till a few weeks before the death of *Herod*, will very unwillingly allow, that the oath in *Josephus* has any relation to St. *Luke's* enrolment. But then, beside the task of evading all the many concurring circumstances in St. *Luke* and *Josephus*, they will labor under one very great difficulty. For this oath appears to have been taken by the *Jews* so very near the end of *Herod's* reign, that it will be utterly inconceivable, that the *Romans* should have ordered another general enrolment, and harasse the people again before *Herod's* death. Nor will they be able to remove this difficulty by saying, that the *swearing* began about the time it is placed in by *Josephus*, but was not finished till a few weeks before *Herod* died: For it was all over at the time *Josephus* speaks of it. All had

taken the oath, but six thousand *Pharisees*; they had refused, and were fined.

§. III. The third objection is this : *Cyrenius* was not Governour of *Syria* till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after our Saviour was born : therefore *St. Luke* has made a mistake in saying, that this taxing happened in the time of *Cyrenius*.

This objection must now be stated more at length. In our translation the words are : *And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* What is the sense of our translation, I do not know; and it must be owned likewise, that the words of the original (*r*) seem to have in them an uncommon ambiguity. Many think, the most genuine natural sense of the original words is : *This first taxing [or enrolment] was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* Upon this sense of them the objection is founded. And it is urged, this cannot be agreeable to the truth. For the Evangelists have assured us, that Jesus was born in the later end of *Herod's* reign.

(*r*) Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ὑγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρενίου.

But *Josephus* says, that (s) *Quintilius Varus* was then President of *Syria*, and he must have been so at least a year before *Herod* died. And *Saturninus* was his predecessor. Moreover *Josephus* says, that *Cyrenius* was sent Governour into *Syria*, when *Archelaus* was removed from his government of *Judea*, who yet reigned there between nine and ten years after *Herod*. *Josephus* relates this matter, in his *Antiquities*, thus :

“ But in the tenth year (t) of *Arche-*
laus’s government, the chief of the *Jews*
 “ and *Samaritans* not being able to bear his
 “ cruelty and tyranny accused him to *Cesar*.
 “ The Emperour sent an officer into *Judea*
 “ to bring him to *Rome*. When he came
 “ thither, *Cesar*, having heard what he
 “ had to say in answer to his accusers, ba-
 “ nished him, appointing *Vienna* a city in
 “ *Gaul* for the place of his abode (u). And
 “ the countrey of *Archelaus* being annexed
 “ to the province of *Syria*, *Cyrenius* a Con-
 “ sular person was sent by *Cesar* to make
 “ an assessment in *Syria*, and to seize *Arche-*
laus’s estate (x).” Af-

(s) *Ant. L. 17. cap. v. §. 2.*

(t) Δεκάτω δὲ ἔτι ἀρχῆς Ἀρχιλάου

(u) *Ant. L. 17. c. 15. §. 2.*

(x) Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχιλάου χώρας ὑπολειπῶς προσσημεθείσης τῇ Σύρῳ.
 τίμ-

Afterwards he says : “ In the mean time
 “ *Cyrenius* a Roman Senator, who had serv-
 “ ed all other offices, and through them
 “ arrived at the Consulship, and was di-
 “ stinguished likewise by divers other ho-
 “ nours and dignities, came into *Syria* with
 “ a few troops, being sent thither by *Cesar*
 “ to administer justice to that people, and
 “ to make an assessment of their goods.
 “ And *Coponius* a person of the *Equestrian*
 “ rank was sent with him to govern in *Ju-*
 “ *dea* with supreme authority. *Cyrenius*
 “ also came into *Judea*, now annexed to
 “ *Syria*, both to assesse their estates, and
 “ to seise *Archelaus’s* effects and trea-
 “ sure (y).”

It is objected therefore, that St. *Luke* has committed a very gross mistake, in saying,

πίμπλῃαι Κυρήνῃς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ἀπολιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ, καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον· *ibid.* §. 5.

(y) Κυρήνῃς δὲ, τῶν εἰς τὴν βελὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ, τὰς τι-
 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτελεστικῶς, καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὀδύσας ὑπατὶ γινί-
 σθαι, τότε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας πα-
 ρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιόδοτος τῷ ἔθνει ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμη-
 τὴς τῶν ἐσιῶν γινησόμενος· Κωπώνιος τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπίμπλῃαι,
 τάγματι τῶν ἵππων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐξουσίᾳ
 παρῆν καὶ Κυρήνῃς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γινο-
 μένην, ἀπολιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσίας, καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ
 Ἀρχελαῦ χειρίμαλα *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 1.

that

that *this taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria* : since it appears from *Josephus*, that *Cyrenius* was not President of that province, till after the banishment of *Archelaus*, *Herod's* son and successor.

To this I answer, that though the sense of the words, as they now stand in *St. Luke's Gospel*, should be supposed inconsistent with this account taken from *Josephus* ; yet it would be unreasonable to conclude, that *St. Luke* had really made any mistake. *St. Luke* appears in the rest of his history, and from many particulars of this account before us, to be so fully master of the state of *Judea*, and of the nature of this affair he is here speaking of, that it is impossible he should commit any such mistake.

In the begining of his third chapter he has most exactly specified the state of all *Judea*, or the land of *Israel*, as it was in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, by setting down the several Tetrarchs and Governours of it, and the true extent of their territories.

St. Luke understood the nature of enrolments, as made by the *Romans*. The enrolment

rolment now made, was by virtue of a decree of *Augustus*. And he says, that *Joseph* went to be taxed with *Mary* his espoused wife. This was the custom of the *Romans*, as has been shewed from undoubted testimonies, to enrolle *women* as well as men; whereas the *Jews* used to number or enrolle *males* only.

Moreover, St. *Luke* appears to be well acquainted with the census, which *Josephus* gives us an account of. *Gamaliel* says: *After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished, and as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.* I think it may be fairly supposed, that St. *Luke* understood what he has related from *Gamaliel*. And then, here are particulars enough to satisfy us, he wanted no information concerning the census, which *Josephus* speaks of.

That *Gamaliel* here speaks of the census made in *Judea* after the banishment of *Archelaus*, is evident; because it was at that time, that *Judas* of *Galilee* raised a disturbance. *Gamaliel* calls them *the days of the taxing*, which implies, that this was a very noted and remarkable period: as it is certain, it was.

Ga.

Gamaliel here calls this *Judas* by his proper name. *Josephus* does in one place call him *Judas Gaulanites* (z), but he often styles him *Judas the Galilean*, or of *Galilee* (a). *Gamaliel* says, that he *drew away much people after him*. *Josephus* says the same thing of him in almost the same words (b).

Gamaliel does exactly specify the time in which this man *rose up*, namely in *the time of the taxing*, or of the enrolment: for *Josephus* says, “he persuaded not a few not “to enrolle themselves, when *Cyrenius* the “Censor was sent into *Judea* (c).”

Gamaliel says, *he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were scattered*. *Josephus* has no where related particularly the end of this *Judas*. But that his enterprise was defeated at that time, we may be certain: otherwise the Roman government could not have subsisted in that country with any quiet, which yet it did for

(z) *Ant. l. 18. c. 1. p. 792. v. 3.*

(a) Ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας, p. 974. 3. τὸς αὐτοῦ Γαλιλαῖος, Ἰούδας ὄνομα p. 1060. 8.

(b) Ἐλεάζαρ ἀπόγονος Ἰούδα τοῦ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ ὀλίγου μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς, ὅτι Κυρήνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη de B. J. l. vii. p. 1313. v. 41.

(c) *Ibid.* Ὡς p. 792. init.

near sixty years after the banishment of *Archelaus*. Nor is there after this any mention made, in *Josephus's* history, of any action or attempt of *Judas*.

Perhaps it will be here objected, that *Gamaliel's* words imply, that this design of *Judas* was quite confounded, and his principles sunk at once : And yet it seems likely from the uneasiness, which the *Jews* express under the Roman tribute in some places of the Evangelists, that his principles were in being long afterwards : And from *Josephus* it appears, that his notions were very prevalent, and were one cause of their war at last with the *Romans*.

But if any so understand *Gamaliel*, they appear to me very much to mistake the design of his argument. Doubtless, it was not without special reason that *Gamaliel* alleged these two instances. And he speaks of each in a very different manner. Of *Theudas* he says : *He was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought* : διελύθησαν ἡ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἔδεν· they were ruined and came to nothing. Of *Judas* he says : *He also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed*. διασκορπίσθησαν. Having mentioned these two

instances, which the council were well acquainted with, and thereby laid a foundation for the advice he proposed to give, he goes on : *And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone : for if this counsel or this work be of men, [as Theudas's was ;] it will come to (d) nought [as his did]. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.*

It is not to be supposed, that Gamaliel should expressly say : *Judas's design was of God.* However the chief men of the *Jewish* nation might approve his principles, they were wiser than openly to espouse them : they left that to the common people.

The force of Gamaliel's argument is this : *Theudas* and his measures came to nothing. After him *Judas* rose up : He himself perished, and his people were dispersed ; but yet his principles prevail. You likewise may now punish these men, and put an end to their lives ; but if their principles be of God, they will prevail notwithstanding ; and all the issue will be, that you will contract guilt, fight against God, but in vain.

(d) Καταλυθήσεται.

And

And to this seems to be owing the great successe of *Gamaliel's* reasoning, and the service he did the Apostles at this time. He insinuates some hopes, that their design might be of the same nature with *Judas's*. This may be inferred from his way of expressing himself: *lest haply ye be found to fight against God.* This was *Judas's* peculiar principle, that they were to own no mortal lords, but God only (*e*). And it is not unlikely, that *Gamaliel* intended hereby to insinuate, not only that there was danger of their opposing a design which came from God, and of opposing it with no other effect, but that of contracting guilt to themselves, but also of opposing the very kingdome and government of God, which they wished to be under.

It deserves likewise to be observed, that *Gamaliel* mentions *Theudas* with contempt and indignation. *Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody:* but nothing like this follows the mention of *Judas*.

Gamaliel concludes upon the whole, that they should *let these men alone.* We have no occasion to meddle in this matter. It is

(*e*) *Jos. p. 1060. v. 10.*

not unlikely but the *Romans*, our present Governours, will be jealous of these men. But it seems to me an affair we have no reason to concern our selves in.

St. *Luke* therefore must be supposed to be well acquainted with the census, made after the banishment of *Archelaus*.

I must be permitted to observe farther, that St. *Luke* does here call *Cyrenius* by his true name. It has indeed been a dispute among learned men, whether his Roman name was *Quirinus* or *Quirinius*. *Onuphrius* in his *Fasti* printed it *Quirinus*: *Grotius* (f) and *Lipsius* (g) thought *Onuphrius* was mistaken, and that it ought to be corrected *Quirinius*. *Perizonius* (h) seems to have proved, that *Quirinus* is the true way of writing it in *Latin*: since it was not the family name, or the *nomen*, but *cognomen*, the third name of this gentleman. For his name was *Caius Sulpicius Quirinus*; and in the *Syriac* version of St. *Luke* he is written *Curinus*, and in the *Latin* vulgate *Cyrinus*. But however that be, he allows it to be common for the *Greeks* to make some al-

(f) In *Luc. ii.* 2.

(g) In *not. ad Tacit. ann. l. iii. c. 48.*

(h) *Dissert. de Aug. orb. Terr. Descr. §. 30.*

teration in the termination of Roman names, when they turn them into their own language. It is certain, his name in all the Greek authors has the termination of *ios* or *ius*. *Strabo* (i) and *Dio* (k) call him *Κυρίνιος*, *Cyrinius*. But in *Josephus* (l) his name is always written, as in *St. Luke*, *Cyrenius*.

Moreover, it is certain, *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*; and he has here a very proper title, by which he must have been well known in *Judea*, and in all that part of the world.

Lastly, if we consider, that the words now before us are a parenthesis, and that *St. Luke* calls the enrolment or census, he was speaking of, the *first*, we cannot well doubt, but that the original intention of them was, in some manner or other, to distinguish this enrolment, which was now made in the reign of *Herod*, from that, which was afterwards made, when *Archelaus* was banished.

He that will seriously consider all these particulars, will have no suspicions, that *St. Luke* has made any mistake.

(i) *Lib. xii. p. 854.*

(k) *Vid. Dio lib. liv. ad A. U. 742.*

(l) *p. 791. v. 5. 12. p. 794. v. 21. 37. & alibi.*

If then the sense, which is now ordinarily given these words, is not consistent with truth; it is highly reasonable to conclude, that either we do not take the true meaning of them, or else that some small alteration or other has happened in the text of *St. Luke*.

§. IV. But though what has been here offered, and which has also been in the main alleged before by those who have considered this place, be sufficient to take away the force of this objection; yet I presume, it will be expected, I should give some account of the particular solutions that have been offered by learned men. This I shall do, and then endeavour to support or improve that which appears to me the fairest.

I. One solution proposed by (*m*) *Calvin*, and much approved by *Salmeron* and *Baronius*, is, that *Josephus* was mistaken in the account, which he has given of *Cyrenius*. The two last mentioned writers especially are of opinion, that we need pay little regard to *Josephus*; whose history, they say, abounds with mistakes and falsehoods (*n*). And *Baronius*

(*m*) *In loc.*

(*n*) *Præstat ut Josephi verò fidem & historiam deferamus,*
Y y 2
tanquam

ronius (o) has taken some pains to make out a new series of the succession of the Governours of *Syria* about this time. For he thinks, that *Cyrenius* was twice, if not thrice, president of *Syria*. But this project can be but little approved by learned men at present. No one that reads *Josephus* without prejudice, and that considers he had before him the history of *Herod's* reign, writ by *Nicolas of Damascus*, who was a learned man, *Herod's* favorite, and employed by him in affairs of government, can make any doubt, but that *Quintilius Varus* was Governour of *Syria*, when *Herod* died; that *C. Senti* *Saturninus* was his predecessor, and was in the province at least two or three years; and that *M. Titius* was president before him. With all these Governours of *Syria*, *Herod* had some concerns. What *Josephus* has said of them may likewise be confirmed in a great measure from other authors (p). So that there is no room for *Cyrenius* at this time.

tanquam incertam, & fluctuantem & veritati in multis differentem. *Salmeron in Evang. T. iii. Tractat. 32.*

(o) Sicque contra *Josephi* deliria certo appareret, sub *Augusto* imperatore, vivente *Herode seniore*, reperiri duplicem, immo triplicem *Quirinii* in *Syria* praefecturam. *Baron. Ann. A. D. 3. Vid. etiam App. ad An. num. 80. 86.*

(p) *Vid. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diff. ii. cap. 16. §. 9. 10.*

Nor can there well be any question made, but that *Josephus* has given us, in the main, a true account of the enrolment or census made by *Cyrenius* after *Archelaus's* banishment. It appears from the manner, in which *Gamaliel* speaks of the *taxing*, when *Judas* of *Galilee* rose up, that it was a remarkable event. And the account *Josephus* gives of it may assure us, this was an affair all men were then well acquainted with. The disturbance raised by *Judas* was suppressed, but yet the principle subsisted. It was the occasion of much uneasiness under the Roman government, and many were at times punished on account of it (q).

2. Another solution proposed by (r) *Calvin*, and which *Valesius* (s) judgeth to be the most commodious of any, is, that the decree of *Augustus* was issued in the later end of *Herod's* reign; but that for some reason or other the census could not be made, or at least not finished, till the time that *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, ten or twelve years afterwards.

(q) *Jos. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 1. §. 6.*

(r) *Ubi supra.*

(s) *Vid. Notas ad Euseb. Hist. Ec. lib. i. cap. 5.*

But this is to make *St. Luke* speak very improperly and confusedly, in what he says of *Cyrenius*. And it is directly contrary to what follows. Having related, that there went out a decree from *Cesar Augustus*, that all the world should be taxed, he subjoins: and all went to be taxed every one in his own city. And there was so great a resort at this time at *Bethlehem* upon this account, that *Joseph* and *Mary* were obliged to take up with very indifferent accommodations: there was no room for them in the inn.

3. Some think, that instead of *Cyrenius*, we ought to read *Saturninus*; because, according to *Josephus*, he was Prefect of *Syria*, within a year or two before *Herod* died; and *Tertullian* says, this census was made by him. This is one of the solutions proposed by (t) *Valesius*, though he rather approves that last mentioned. But against this, it has been observed by many learned men, that *Cyrenius* is in all our copies of *St. Luke*, and appears to have been there before *Tertullian's* time; since *Justin Martyr* says expressly, that this census was made by *Cyrenius*.

(t) *Ubi supra.*

4. Other learned (u) men have thought it a very easy and probable conjecture, that originally the name of St. *Luke* was *Quintilius*. *Quintilius Varus* succeeded *Saturninus*, and was in the province of *Syria*, when *Herod* died. The census afterwards made by *Cyrenius*, was certainly best known, and some ignorant transcriber might therefore imagine *Quintilius* a mistake, and pretend to correct the original by inserting *Cyrenius* in his room. Besides, the alteration of *Quintilius* to *Cyrenius*, is a change of only a few (x) letters, and therefore might the more easily happen.

But this solution is liable to the same objection with the former; that *Cyrenius* is in all the copies of the *Greek* original, and in all the ancient versions. And besides, has this disadvantage, that this census St. *Luke* speaks of is not ascribed to *Quintilius Varus* by any ancient Christian writer whatever, whereas *Saturninus* has been mentioned by *Tertullian*.

(u) Huet. *Dem. Evang. Prop. ix. c. x.* Parker's *Dem. of the truth of the Christ. Religion*, p. 219. 4to. 1681.

(x) Κουιντίλιον, Κυρηνίου

5. The next (y) I shall mention is that offered by (z) Mr. *Whiston*, which is this; “that a description or enrolment of the “*Jews* was made just before our Saviour’s “birth, but the tax it self was not raised “till the banishment of *Archelaus*, when “*Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria* :” And Dr. *Prideaux* seems to approve of this way of solving this difficulty. For he says: “If “the second verse of the second chapter of “*St. Luke* be so rendered as to imply, that “the levying the tax, according to the description mentioned in the former verse, “was first executed, while *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, this will remove all difficulties. And the text can well bear this “interpretation (a).”

In order to support this interpretation, Mr. *Whiston* says (b): “The word used for the “description at our Saviour’s birth, is the “verb ἀπεγράφουαι; and that used for the “taxation under *Cyrenius*, is the noun ἀπεγραφή. He adds, that by custom a noun

(y) I have passed by the conjecture of those, who have supposed this whole parenthesis to be an interpolation, as not deserving to be mentioned.

(z) *A short view of the Harm. of the Evang. Prop. xi.*

(a) *Connex. Par. ii. l. ix. Anno ante ch. 5.*

(b) *Ubi supra.*

“ of

“ of the same original with a verb does vary
 “ in signification from it. *Γεομετρεῖν* is to
 “ measure the earth: *Γεομετρία* is Geometry,
 “ or the science that consists of the know-
 “ ledge of numbers and figures.—Nay, in
 “ *English*, in the words directly apposite to
 “ this matter, the verb to *tax* is often-
 “ times to lay an imputation, while the
 “ noun a *tax* is the levy of money only.”

But (1.) Mr. *W*——n’s argument from
 the use of nouns and verbs is not valid here.
 He says; “ by custom a noun of the same
 “ original with a verb does vary in signifi-
 “ cation from it.” This may be, and there
 may be many instances of it. But it had
 been much more material to give an ex-
 ample or two of the use of the noun *ἀπο-
 γραφή* for a *tax*, namely, in the sense in
 which he here understands it. This he has
 not done, and I presume no such example
 can be alleged from any *Greek* author.

I know of but two, or at the most three
 senses, in which this noun is used, which
 can have any relation to this matter.

[1.] It is used for the act of the people
 in presenting themselves to be enrolled. As
 when soldiers offered themselves to be inlist-
 ed

ed (c) or enrolled under a General. And in a census it may be used for the act of the people, who come and offer themselves to be enrolled and assessed. So the word seems to be used by *Josephus*, when he says in the place above quoted, that *Judas* perswaded not a few (d) of the *Jews* not to make enrolments or entries; that is, not to offer themselves to be entered and assessed.

[2.] The word is used for a census. So it is used by *Dio* in many places: ἀπογραφὰς ποιῆσθαι is the same as *censum agere*; that is, to make enrolments, is the same as to make a census (e).

[3.] This noun is used for the public Rolls or Court Books, in which the entries were made. This sense of the word is very common. Thus *Caligula* being at play at dice, and having lost all his money, he asked for the *Gallic* court rolls (f), and ordered several of the most wealthy of that peo-

(c) See above, p. 593. n.1.

(d) Ἐλεάζαρος Ἰούδα ἀπόγειον τῷ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίου ἐκ ὀλίγου μὴ ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς. *de B. J. l. vii. p. 1343. 40.*

(e) Πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς. p. 509 C. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων ἐποίησάλο· 557. B. *vid. etiam jam citat. pag. 496. C. 508. B. C.*

(f) Κυβέων δὲ ποτὶ καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι ἐκ εἴη οἱ ἀργύριον, ἤτησέν τι τὰς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφὰς κ. τ. λ. *Dio L. 59. p. 657. B.*

ple to be put to death, and seized their cash. And the Citizens of *Rome*, whose debts were more than they could discharge, having entred the sums they owed in Books opened for that purpose, *Servius Tullius* took the Books or Rolls, τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔλαβε, brought them into the *Forum*, and paid the creditors (g).

Thus I have reckoned up all the senses I know of this noun, relating to this matter. However it never signifies a *tax*. Taxes were paid according to the census, where any had been made : but they were no part of it. They might be remitted, or demanded. And the tribute is never expressed by the noun ἀπογραφή, but is ever distinguished from what that signifies.

(2.) This interpretation of these words is contrary to matter of fact. There was no tax levied after the banishment of *Archelaus*, according to the enrolment made at the birth of our Saviour. But as soon as *Archelaus* was banished, “*Cyrenius* came “into *Judea* to make an assessment of their “goods.” *Josephus* is as express in this

(g) *Dion. Hal. l. iv. c. 10. p. 207. 23.*

(h) Τὸν τε φέρον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν ἀφῆκε, τέλη τε τινα κατέλυσε *Dio L. 49. pag. 401. B.*

matter as can be (i). “Then it was that
 “*Judas of Galilee* and his followers ex-
 “claimed, that an assessment would bring
 “in among them downright slavery (k.)”

This interpretation therefore is so far from being of any service to us, that it would introduce a new, and I think, insuperable difficulty, by putting upon these words a sense directly contrary to what *Josephus* has said.

Josephus is so express, that there seems no need of reasoning upon the matter, to confute this supposition. But I can never conceive, how a tax could be levied in *Judea*, after the removal of *Archelaus*, upon the census or enrolment made at our Saviour's birth, without the utmost confusion, or the utmost injustice. When the enrolment, which *St. Luke* speaks of, was made; *Galilee*, *Trachonitis*, and other countreys were subject to *Herod*, beside *Judea*: many who lived in *Galilee* enrolled themselves in *Judea*, particularly *Joseph*, as *St. Luke* assures us. But when *Archelaus* was banished, one half of *Herod's* dominions was in the possession of *Herod the Tetrarch* and

(i) Παρὴν δὲ Κυρηνίος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσίας. *Ant. l. xviii. c. 1.*

(k) Τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν εἶδεν ἄλλο ἢ ἀνικρυς δαλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες. *Id. Ibid.*

Philip, and had been so ever since the death of *Herod* called the Great. And only *Judea*, *Samaria* and *Idumea*, which had been subject to *Archelaus*, were thrown into the form of a Roman province. The *Jews* having enrolled themselves according to their families at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and many having come into *Judea*, properly so called, from *Galilee*, and other parts of *Herod's* territories, a new enrolment was absolutely necessary in *Judea* at the time of *Archelaus's* removal, if they were to pay tribute there in the way of a census. *Judea* otherwise must have been very much overburdened. If there was an assessment of goods made at the later end of *Herod's* reign, undoubtedly *Joseph's* stock at *Nazareth* was entered and rated at *Bethlehem*. And as the *Jews* in that part of the world were chiefly of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*; the inhabitants of *Galilee*, and *Trachonitis*, &c. must have very generally enrolled themselves in towns that belonged to the province of *Judea*. But it would have been very unreasonable in the *Romans*, to demand tribute of the people of *Judea*, properly so called, for estates and

and goods, which were in the territories of the Tetrarchs *Herod* and *Philip*.

And we are assured, that the *Romans* did use to act equitably, and with great exactness in these matters. Many of the Roman Citizens had been for a long time oppressed with the weight of their debts. A way having been found out A. U. 402. to give them ease, *Livie* says, that the next year a census was ordered, because the property of many things had been altered (1).

6. The solution I shall consider in the next place, is that, which was first offered by *Herwaert* (m). I give it here in the words of (n) *Whitby*, by whom it is espoused. *And this taxing was first made* (before that made) *when Cyrenius was Governour of Syria*: or rather, *This taxing was made before Cyrenius was governour of Syria*. The

(1) Quia solutio aeris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos; censum agi placuit. lib. vii. cap. 22. n. 6. vid. & c. 21.

(m) Ut hoc loco genitivus ἡγεμονεύοντος vocabulo πρώτη additus, vim comparisonis efficiat, & perinde sit, ac si diceretur descriptionem illam esse priorem priusque factam, quam Quirinius Syriae praeficeretur, praefecturamque ipsius gereret. *Her-waert nova & vera Chronologia, Monachii 1612. p. 189.*

(n) In loc.

learned

learned *Kepler* (o) approved of this interpretation, as perfectly agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* language. Notwithstanding which (p) *Casaubon* rejected it, and was supposed by most to have confuted *Herwaert's* arguments for it. *Perizonius* in his dissertation upon this subject of the Taxing has afresh supported this interpretation. Mr. *Le Clerc* in his additions to Dr. *Hammond's* annotations expresses his approbation of it : and has since declared, (q) that he thinks it has been set in so clear a light as to be incontestable. And it is now embraced by many other learned men, both Protestants and Catholics.

I am very desirous, this solution should appear here to as much advantage, as an argument so full of *Greek* criticisms can do in a design of this nature in our own language. *Perizonius* allows, that a great many of

(o) Cum igitur omnium Graecè doctorum judicio constet sic optimè versum esse hunc locum Lucae, multoque emendatius quam habet antiqua versio, spero omnes acquieturos hac solutione objectionis prius propositae. *De Natal. J. Chr. p. 116. 117.*

(p) *Exerc. in Baron. i. n. 32.*

(q) Ce denombrement se fit avant que *Quirinius* fut gouverneur de la Syrie. Des savans hommes ont mis cette explication de ce passage de St. Luc dans un si grand jour qu'elle paroît désormais incontestable, *Nouv. Testam.*

Her-

Herwaert's instances are not to the (r) purpose. I reckon therefore, that it will be sufficient to represent this argument, as it is drawn up by *Whitby* and *Perizonius*: especially if I take in by the by an instance or two, insisted on by others, though neglected by them.

Whitby says: "I would rather read $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ than $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta$. But neither do we need this criticism, since the words $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\circ$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho$ are by the Seventy oft used according to this sense; of the word $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, this is beyond doubt, God saying twice $\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\omega\ \sigma\phi\eta\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \sigma\varsigma$, *I will send hornets before thee*. Exod. xxiii. 28. Jos. xxiv. 12.—That $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\circ$ also is used in the sense of priority, we learn from these instances; $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\tau\omicron\kappa\circ\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \eta\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, *I am before thee, I am elder than thou*; $\epsilon\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \tau\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\ \circ\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\circ\ \mu\epsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\circ$; *Cbal.* $\text{לֵךְ אַתָּא בְּרִי}$, *Why then was not the word first spoken to me? Cur mihi non annunciatum est priori?* 2 Sam. xix. 43. Isa. lxxv. 16. *The former troubles are forgotten*, Gr. $\epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\nu$,

(r) Interpretationem hanc primus protulit Joh. Georg. Herwartus, multisque argumentis, vel potius exemplis probare laboravit, sed in quibus non pauca attulit valde $\alpha\pi\rho\sigma\delta\iota\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$. *Periz. de August. Descript.* §. 21.

“ and ver. 17. & μὴ μνησθῶσι τῶν προτέρων,
 “ they shall not remember the former. So
 “ *John i.* 15. 30. ὅτι πρότερός μὲ ἦν, for he
 “ was before me. And chap. 15. 18. know
 “ that they hated, ἐμὲ πρῶτον, me before you.
 “ *1 Cor. xiv.* 30. ὁ πρῶτος, Let the former
 “ hold his peace; and *1 Job. iv.* 19. We
 “ love him, ὅτι πρῶτος, because he loved us
 “ before. And in *Aristophanes*, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἀν
 “ πρῶτος is interpreted, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἀν πρότερον.
 “ *Neph. p.* 122. And so *Theophylact* inter-
 “ prets the word here. Τῷ πρώτῳ προτέρα ἡγε-
 “ μονεύοντος, ἢ γὰρ πρότερον ἢ ἡγεμόνευε τῆς Συ-
 “ ρίας Κυρήνης.”

Perizonius understands these words in much the same sense (s) with *Whitby*; only he differs from him and *Herwaert*, in that they suppose πρώτη to be the same as προτέρα; whereas he says, these numeral adjectives have the force of adverbs (t).

He

(s) Verus itaque meâ sententiâ verborum sensus est: Haec descriptio prius, vel, ante, facta est, quam praesideret Syriae Quirinus. *Dissertatio de Augustae orbis terrarum Descriptione*, §. xxi.

(t) Voluit autem Herwartus πρώτην poni ἀντὶ τῆς προτέρα, atque hujus locutionis vi, genitivum, qui sequitur, a τῷ πρώτῳ, tanquam a comparativo, regi. Durum hoc plerisque visum. Ego rem aliter expediendam omnino censeam. Πρώτη

Z z

simpliciter,

He alleges divers of the same examples, which *Whitby* does; particularly *John* i. 15. and xv. 18. Of the later, ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκε, he says, it must by all means be understood (*u*) of priority of time: *It hated me before it hated you.*

He supposes also (*x*) that we have a parallel instance in a word of an opposite meaning, 2 *Macc.* vii. 41. ἐσχάτη τῶν υἱῶν ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε. *Last of all after the sons the mother died.* In the same manner is πρῶτον the adverb used in *Aristophanes in avibus*, v. 484. *de Gallo*; ἤρχε τε πρῶτον Δαρεῖς καὶ Μεγαβύζης, i. e. *imperabatque Persis priusquam Darius & Megabyzus*; vel ante *Darium et Megabyzum.*

Perizonius says, that the genitives that follow πρῶτον are governed by an ellip-

simpliciter, ut adjectivum numerale jungitur verbo, quemadmodum solent adjectiva habitum vel modum rei gestae significantia, tanquam si sint adverbia.—Sic plane πρῶτον, verbis adjunctum, saepe significat solam ordinis & numeri rationem, sine discrimine, pluresne sint, an unus, qui sequantur; atque adeo tunc non tam superlativi, quam positivi naturam induit, eandemque subit constructionem, quam δεύτερον & seqq. *Ibid.* §. xxii.

(*u*) Vertendum omnino cum significato temporis, me priusquam ante vos. *ibid.* §. xxiii.

(*x*) *Ibid.*

sis (y), and that *πρῶτός μὲν*, is the same as *πρῶτον* *πρὸς μὲν*, *πρῶτον* *ὕμῶν* the same as *πρῶτον* *πρὸς ὑμῶν*. Thus in *Luke xi. 38. He wondered, ὅτι ἂν πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸς ἀράς,* that he had not washed before dinner. From this and another such instance he concludes,

(y) Nempe genitivi hi non reguntur ab adjectivis, sed a praepositionibus, quæ per ellipsin sunt omissæ. §. xxiv. *Πρό* enim esse particulam, quæ in ista locutione desideratur, & a qua regitur genitivus, certissimum ex eo, quod ubi ellipsis nulla, & sententia plene ac integre exponitur, illa potissimum occurrit expressa. Apud Anton. Liber. fab. 29. *Καὶ πρὸ Ἡρακλίου ἰορτῇ θύουσιν Γαλινθιάδην πρώτην*. Galinthias ibi optimè dicitur merita fuisse de Hercule, & idcirco Thebanos in *sesto* Herculis *sacrificare Galinthis prius*, seu primæ, ante *Herculem*.—Sed & ipse Lucas *Evang. xi. 38. expressit similiter τὸ πρὸ post πρῶτος*, ὁ δὲ *Φαρισαῖος*, inquit, *ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν, ὅτι ἂν πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸς ἀράς*. quod non primum se laverit, antequam cibum sumeret. Vides utrobique post *πρώτην* & *πρῶτον* ante genitivum expressam hanc praepositionem; quod certo est indicio, ab ea etiam regi, quando nulla comparet, omissa per ἔλλειψιν, sed tamen intelligenda: atque adeo explicandum etiam *πρῶτον Δαρείον*, quasi dictum esset *πρῶτον πρὸς Δαρείον* ἢ ἀπογραφῇ *πρώτη Κυρηναία* quasi *πρώτη πρὸς Κυρηναίαν*. §. xxv.—mihi quoque idem est, ac si dixisset Lucas, non quidem *πρὸς Ἰερουσαλήμ*, verum *πρώτη πρὸς ἡγεμονεύουσαν*.—Sed nihil similitius, quod ad constructionis & linguae rationem, Lucæ verbis secundum nostram eorum interpretationem, quam locus *Lxx. Interpretum Jerem. xxix. 2. ἔτσι οἱ λόγοι, ἃς ἀπέστειλεν Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὕστερον ἐξεληλυθῶσι Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐξ Ἰερουσαλὴμ*. Haec sunt verba, quæ misit, vel scripsit Jeremias Babylonem, postquam exiit Jechonias ex Hierosolymis §. xxviii.

that the genitive is governed by $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ understood, when it is wanting.

This is the substance of the argument in favour of this meaning of this passage of St. *Luke*.

It has been thought by some to be an objection against this solution, that then St. *Luke* has omitted to name the person, by whom this enrolment was made. But methinks this is a defect, which may be dispensed with, if that be the only difficulty. For my own part, I dare not absolutely reject it: but yet I am not fully satisfied, that this is the sense of the words. I think myself obliged to review the arguments here offered by these learned men, and hope it may be done without offense.

Whitby's instances of the use of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ from the *Seventy* are not to the point, because the word in St. *Luke* is $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta$. There is no doubt, but $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron$, the comparative, is very often followed by a genitive case, and denotes such or such a thing to be *before* another. We want some plain examples of this use of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta$. Nor is $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ η $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ to the point, because the η is wanting in St. *Luke*, and the construction is different. The example from *Isa.* lxxv. 16.

only proves that *πρῶτον* signifies the former: and though *πρώτη* in St. *Luke* should be so rendered, the difficulty will remain in it's full force. For then the sense will be: *This former taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* Nor can the *πρῶτον* in 1 *Cor.* xiv. 30. or 1 *John* iv. 19. do us any service, for want of a regimen equivalent to what we have in our text. Nor do I see what use can be made of the phrase borrowed from *Aristophanes*. The passage from 2 *Sam.* xix. 43. as it is quoted by *Keuchenius* (z), seems to me more strongly to support this interpretation, than as it is quoted by *Whitby*. Though, I suppose, he had his reasons for quoting it in that way. Nor has *Perizonius* quoted this text, though he had *Keuchenius* before him. It is observable, that *ἰδὲ* is wanting in

(z) Silentio tandem praeterire nequeo quod 2 *Sam.* cap. 19. 43. legitur, *Et vir Israelis respondit viro Judae, & dixit, mibi sunt decem partes in rege, ubi LXX. de suo addere videntur, καὶ πρωτότοκός ἐγὼ ἡ σύ, & etiam in Davide ego prae te: cur igitur me vilipendisti, & non fuit verbum meum primum seu prius (inter duos enim sermo est) mibi ad reducendum regem meum; quod LXX. vertunt. καὶ ἔκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μοι τῷ ἰδὲ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐμοί; ubi πρῶτος τῷ ἰδὲ manifeste ponitur pro πρότιμος. Petri Keuchen. annot. in loc.*

(a) Grabe's edition of the *Septuagint*, as there is nothing answerable to it in the *Hebrew*. His instances from *St. John's Gospel* will be distinctly considered presently.

The first quotation in *Perizonius* [§. 23.] which I shall consider is *John* xx. 3, 4. *Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other disciple did out-run Peter, & ἦλθε πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον and came first to the sepulchre.* Which *Perizonius* would render thus: and came first, or before *Peter*; and says, that the meaning cannot be *came first of all*, πρῶτος πάντων, because *Mary Magdalene* had been there before. No, for certain, it is not, *came first of all*, because two only are here spoken of; and *omnium primus* is not properly said of two. But I wonder *Perizonius* did not perceive the proper ellipsis in this place, and which is very obvious, namely, τοῖν δυοῖν, and came the *first of the two*. *Perizonius* does not deny, that πρῶτος is used, where two only are spoken of; nay, he contends

(a) Καὶ ἐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μοι τῷ ἐπιστρεφῆναι τὴν βασιλεία ἐμοί.

for it. But because it is often denied (b), and because his proofs appear to me not very clear, or at least not so fully to suit my interpretation of this text, I shall give two undoubted examples. Thus (c) *Dionysius* says, that *Servius Tullius's* wife was daughter of *Tarquin the first*; though there were but two *Tarquins* Kings of *Rome*. *Plutarch* thus describes a restless uneasy mind. "If he is a native of a province, of *Galatia* for instance, or *Bithynia*; he thinks he is not well used, if he has not some eminent post among his Citizens. If he has that, he laments that he has not a right of wearing the *Patrician* habit: If he has that, he grieves that he is not a Roman Praetor: If he is Praetor, that he is not Consul; and if Consul, that he was not declared first, but (d) only the later (of the two)."

(b) Πρῶτος καὶ πρότερος διαφέρει· πρῶτος γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλῶν, πρότερος δὲ, ἐπὶ δύο· *Ammon. de Sim. Ἐ Diff. ap. H. Steph. Thes. Gr. in Appendice.*

(c) Ταρκυνία θυγάτηρ ἦσα τῇ πρώτῃ βασιλείᾳ· *Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 234. v. 13. confer. p. 250. v. 42. ὅτι Ταρκυνία τῇ πρότερον βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων ἀδελφῆ παῖς ἦν· Ἐ p. 253. 10. τῇ πρότερον βασιλείᾳ Ταρκυνία θυγάτηρ.*

(d) Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γενητῶν, ὅτι μὴ ὑπατεύει καὶ ὑπατεύων, ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος, ἀλλ' ὕστερος ἀνηγορεύθη· *Plutarch. de Anim. Tranq. p. 470. c.*

This text then will not help *Perizonius*. All that can be proved from it is, that *πρῶτον* is used very properly, where two only are spoken of. If *πρῶτη* in St. *Luke* be allowed to signify the *first* or *former* of two taxings, all that will result from hence is, that St. *Luke* thought there was another taxing beside this; and that this now made by *Cyrenius* was the former of the two. No instance of this sort will prove, that the meaning of this passage is, This taxing was *before*, or *prior* to, that made, when *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*.

The examples from *John* i. 15, 30. xv. 18. are some of the most proper examples in the whole number: and if they are rightly understood, they are very much to the purpose. But, with submission to these learned men, I think they are taken by them in a wrong sense. They are both much of the same kind; but I choose to consider first of all that alleged from *John* xv. 18. εἰ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκεν. *If the world hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you.* *Herwaert* (e) is much pleased with this example.

(e) Ille verò S. Joannis xv. 18. locus ad hoc institutum mirificè facit,—*Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.*

If *πρῶτον* be supposed to be an adverb, then this is not a parallel instance. But indeed, as I take it, it is neither an adverb, nor an adjective, but a noun substantive; or at least, an adjective used substantively: and the later part of the verse ought to be rendered: *Know that it has hated me YOUR CHIEF.* The connexion of the words may satisfy us, that this was our Saviour's meaning. His argument is, that men had hated him, who was superior to them; nay, they had hated even his father; the disciples therefore ought not to be surprised, if they hate them also. v. 20. *Remember the words that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord, if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you, v. 24. But now they have both seen and hated me, and my father.* The force of the argument is not, that the world had hated him before it hated them: But he bids them consider, that it had hated him who was *their master*, and whom they allowed to be so. This is the argument made use of in other places, with the same view. *The disciple* Matt. x. 24. *is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.*—*If they have called the*
master

master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?

If it be said, that there was no occasion to subjoin *your chief* after *me*; and that the disciples could consider Jesus no otherwise than as their master: I answer, that it is apparent from the texts already alleged here by me, that this was not our Saviour's stile; and that he did not trust so much to his disciples understandings. When he had occasion to draw any inferences from his superiority, he always expresseth it. *Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well: for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet.*

Πρῶτ' is used several times in the *New Testament*, in the plural number, for superiority of honour and dignity: Καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Γαλιλαίας, is not ill rendered in our *Mark vi. 21.* version, *chief estates of Galilee.* γυναικῶν τε *Acts xv. 4.* τῶν πρώτων ἐκ ὀλίγων, *of the chief women not a few*: or, as perhaps the words might be rendered, not a few of the wives of the chief men.

It is likewise used in the singular number in the same sense. Καὶ ὅς ἐάν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτ', ἔστω ὑμῶν δούλος. *And whosoever will*

will be chief among you, let him be your servant. There is another unexceptionable instance of this use of the word: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς

—ὑπῆρχε χωρία τῷ πρῶτῳ τῆς νήσου. *In the* Λατ. κκviii.

same quarters were possessions of the CHIEF⁷

MAN of the Island. Grotius, in his annotations upon this place, has exhibited a Greek inscription, found in this very Island of *Melita*, a part of which inscription is thus: Λ. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. L. C. Kius, Roman Knight, chief of the Melitenes.

The word is often so used in the *Septuagint* version: πρῶτῳ τῶν τριάκοντα, chief of the thirty. I *Chron.* xi. 11. Καὶ Ἀσαφ πρῶτῳ τῶν ἀδέντων, *Nehem.* xii. 45. and in many other places. And in *Josephus*: Ἰῆς ὁ Πίσυ παῖς, ὁ τῆς τρίτης μερίδος πρῶτῳ; *Iustus* the son of *Pistus*, chief or leader of the third faction in (f) *Tiberias*. I throw an example or two more from other (g) authors into the margin.

(f) *Joseph.* in *vitis.* p. 907. v. 12.

(g) Τὸν τῷ δὲ παῖδα ἰόντῳ πρώτῳ παρ' ἱμοί. κ. λ. *Herodot.* l. i. c. 115. ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄγος, καὶ ὁ πρῶτῳ αὐτῶν, κ. λ. *ibid.* c. 173. Καὶ Εὐαμινῶνδας βουλευτῶν, ἐν Λιύκτροις ἐνίκησι Λακιδαιμόνιος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων [Θηβαίων legit *Perizonius*] καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτῳ ἰγνίσι. *Ælian.* Var. H. vii. 14.

Nor do I see, why *πρώτῳ* should not be allowed to be used substantively in divers of the places I have produced. *Princeps* in *Latin* is properly an adjective, and is often so used: at other times it is a substantive. *Αὐτοκράτωρ* is sometimes an (*h*) adjective. It is also used substantively. No one will deny it. *ὑπατῳ* is a word very near parallel with *πρώτῳ*; is often an adjective, at other times is used substantively, and denotes a Consul.

I come now to the other instance, *John* i. 15. *ὃς ἦν ὃν εἶπον, ὃ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.* *This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me.* The same words occur again v. 30. with little variation. But the last clause ought not, in my opinion, to be rendered, *for he was before me*, but, *for he is my Prince, or Lord.*

What I have already said in favour of this meaning of *πρώτῳ* in the former instance may, I presume, make way for admitting it here.

I apprehend *John* to say: *He that follows me*, or comes behind me, was always

(*h*) Λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν *Dionys. Hal. l. 7. p. 408. v. 1.*

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before me, or *in my view*, for he is my Prince. Ἐμπροσθεν and ὀπίσω (unless I am much mistaken) are never used in the *New Testament* for priority or posteriority of time, nor for superiority or inferiority in respect of dignity, (unless they are so used here in the case of *John the Baptist*,) but always have a regard to place. For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ. 2 Cor. v. 10. Ἐμπροσθεν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. I said unto Peter before them all. Gal. ii. 14. Ἐμπροσθεν πάντων Forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before. Phil. iii. 13. τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθάνομεν, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμεθα. ἐνώπιον and ἔμπροσθεν are frequently used the one for the other. See *Matth.* x. 33. *Luke* xii. 9. It is true, *John* came before Christ, that is, before his face. He went before him as an officer before a great man. But that is expressed here in ὀπίσω μὲν ἐρχόμενος.

But I will not contend about this. Perhaps ἔμπροσθέν μὲν γέγονεν is not ill rendered in our translation, *is preferred before me*, though it appears to me an unusual sense of the word.

However,

However, *πρῶτός μου* must nevertheless be understood, as I render it. And I learn from *Beza* (i), that others have been of the same opinion before me.

Thus then *John* says, toward the conclusion of his ministry: *Ye your selves bear witness, that I [from the begining] said, I am not the Christ, but that I came before him.* *John* iii. 20. Referring to what he had declared at first: *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, MAKE STRAIT THE WAY OF THE LORD.* *Ch.* i. 18. That is, I came not on my own account, but barely as a harbinger that makes way for his Lord. This is the peculiar character of *John*, under which he was prophesied of. *Isa.* xl. 3. *Mal.* iii. 1. iv. 5. And under which he always speaks of himself. And what in the 15th and 30th verses of this 1st chapter of *John*, is *ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν*, *He is my Prince*, is in the 27th verse represented by an expression that denotes the vast superiority of Christ above him (k): *He it is,*

(i) Quamobrem etiam nonnulli *πρῶτός μου* interpretantur *Princeps meus*: quod mihi penitus insolens videtur. *Bez.* in loc.

(k) Αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου ἦλθεν· ἔγωγε εἰμι ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματός·

who coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose : that is, I am so far inferior to him, and am in so low a post under him, that I am not worthy to perform the meanest office about his person : or, in other words, I am a mere harbinger, and he is my Lord. *Athenagoras* (1) has used this word in this very sense of a Prince or chief.

I hope it will be no objection against this interpretation, that then the words would not have been *πρῶτός μὲν ἦν*, but *ἔστιν* : for these are all one and the same. I need go no farther for proof than these two verses : *ἔτι ἦν ὃν εἶπον* in the 15th, in the 30th is *ἔτι ἔστι πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ εἶπον*. So that *ἦν* and *ἔστι* signify the very same thing, and are used one for the other.

I am indeed aware, that some Grammarians will except against my notion of *πρῶτος* being a substantive. I will then, for the present, suppose it to be an adjective. But yet I cannot part with the interpretation I

(1) Πρωτῆκε δὲ τῷ μὲν τὸ πρωτεύειν κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ δὲ δορυφερεῖν τὸν ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, ὁδοποιεῖν τε καὶ προαίεργειν πᾶν ὅπου ἐμποδὼν καὶ πρόσαντες. Decet enim hoc secundum naturam principatum habere, illud autem, satellitis vice PRINCIPI suo viam facere, & praevio cursu, omnia impedimenta & praerupta tollere. *De Resur. p. 50. D. Paris. 1636.*

have given of either of these texts. The context satisfies me, the sense I affix to the words is the true meaning : and I can, if I mistake not, account for it according to the strictest rules of the Grammarians. Let then *πρῶτον* in *John* xv. 18. be inclusive, and be understood partitively, and *ὑμῶν* will be governed by the ellipsis *ἐξ*. This I suppose will not be contested. But I choose to understand *πρῶτον* here exclusively. I think, that is the best sense. And then the ellipsis may be (*m*) *πρὸ*, *περὶ*, *ἐπὶ*, or whatever else the Grammarians like best. *Πρῶτον* in *John* i. 15. 30. is evidently exclusive, according to my way of rendring it ; and the *μὲν* following is governed by an ellipsis of one of the last mentioned prepositions. This I take to be perfectly agreeable to the rules of the Grammarians. And thus, in one place Jesus tells his disciples, that he was chief *above* them ; and in the other *John*

(*m*) *Perizonius* says §. 24. *Apud Graecos hanc vicem praestant praepositiones πρὸ & περὶ, quarum illa respondet τῷ ante, haec τῷ prae. Πρὸ is also used to denote preference and preeminence, both simply and in composition. Simply: Καὶ ἔτι· σοιμὴν ἀποδείκνυται διανοίας, τυφὸν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσφαζομένης, καὶ πρὸ τῆ εἶναι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀποδιχομένης. Philo p. 193. D. vid. E p. 194. D. In Composition: in πρὸς τὸν, πρὸς τὴν, &c.*

the

the Baptist says, that *Jesus* was Prince or chief *above* him. And now I have *Beza* on my side, with reference to *John i. 15*. For though he would not allow, that *πρώτος μὲν* is *my prince*; yet he says (*n*), after a very careful examination, he is convinced, it expresses the vast excellence and superiority of *Christ* above *John*. I am not singular therefore in supposing, that this text does not express directly and simply priority of time, but only virtually and consequentially, as it is implied and comprehended in the superior dignity, of which it is a part.

There is another *πρώτη* in the *New Testament*, which has been understood by some in the same sense, in which these learned men have taken the two former instances, though it is not alleged by them. *Now the* Mat. xxvi.
first day of the feast of unleavened bread. 17. Mark xvi.
 This was the fourteenth day of the month: 12.
 but it is argued here, that the 15th day was the first day of the feast of unleavened

(*n*) Caeterum hoc loco diligentius expenso, quam antea, —Declarat igitur præstantiam, sed Christo peculiarem, & ipsi propriam: nempe quasi diceret Joannes. Qui me sequitur quasi magistrum praeceuntem discipulus quispiam, mihi ante positus est, idque optimo jure quia infinitis modis est præstantior: quamvis ante docere coeperim quam ille sese mundo patefecerit. *In loc.*

A a a

bread;

Num xxviii.

16. 17.

See Exod.

xii. 18.

bread; for *Josephus* says, that the 16th day of the month was (o) the second day of the feast. And the words of the Law agree herewith. *And in the fourteenth day of the*

first month is the passover of the Lord. And in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast.

Seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.

The fourteenth day therefore was the day of the Passover. The feast of unleavened

bread was distinct from it, and lasted seven days from the 14th at night. The fifteenth

day of the month was the first of unleavened bread. Therefore when the Evangelists,

speaking of the 14th day, say, it was *πρῶτη τῶν ἀζύμων*, they mean not the *first* day of unleavened bread, but the day *before* that Feast.

The *Jews* have a rule, that in the computation of Feasts, the day (p) precedes the night. What stress ought to be laid upon

this rule in this case, I know not. I am satisfied, we do not need it. The *Passo-*

(o) Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων (ἡμέρα ἕκτη δ' εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ ἡ πρώτη) *Antiq. 3. c. 10. p. 124. v. 20.*

(p) Quum autem Matt. 26. 17. & Marc. 14. 12. ipse dies 14. Nisan appellatur primus dies azymorum, intelligendum id est secundum canonem Judaeorum, mox traditum, scilicet in sacris comedendis diem praecedere noctem; sic ut tempus vespertinum diei 14. & nox subsequens hoc modo diei 14 accenscantur. *Reland. Antiq. Heb. p. 422.*

ver was strictly speaking distinct from the feast of *unleavened bread*, and seven days of unleavened bread followed the day of the passover. But their houses were cleansed from all leaven on the morning of the day on which the paschal lamb was slain, and therefore after noon they could eat no leavened bread. For this reason, perhaps, the day of the passover was called the first of unleavened bread. But whatever was the reason of it, it is certain, that the passover and the feast of unleavened bread are often taken promiscuously the one for the other. And though *Josephus*, in the particular account of the institution, distinguishes the passover from the feast of unleavened bread, yet he often calls the one the other. "At (q) that time, *says he*, the feast approaching, in which the *Jews* are wont to eat unleavened bread. The feast is called the passover, it being kept in remembrance of their departure out of *Egypt*." And in one place he says, "we keep the (r) feast

(q) Ἐντάσης δὲ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ Ἰουδαίους ἄζυμα προτίθεσθαι πάτριον. Πάσχα δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται, ὑπόμνημα ἔσθαι τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπάρεσις αὐτῶν γινομένης. *Antiq.* 17. c. 9. §. 3. p. 773. v. 25. *vid.* Ἐ p. 609. v. 51. 887. v. 10.

(r) Ὅθεν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε ἰνδαίας ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων λεγομένην. *Antiq.* 2. c. 15. p. 88. *init.*

“ of unleavened bread eight days.” According to this method of computation, the 14th day was the first of unleavened bread. So that when the Passover and feast of unleavened bread were considered as one, (as they were very often,) and the whole was called by the feast of unleavened bread, the fourteenth day must be the first. The Evangelists perhaps do not write in system: nor does *Josephus*, as it seems, nor indeed any other good writers; but according to the usual way of speaking.

Herwaert (s) lays great stress upon a

(s) Ille vero locus Aristotelis est singularis. Eum recognoscit Athenaeus Lib. xi. p. 505. Ἡρὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ [Πλάτων] τῷ εὖρε τὸ εἶδον τῶν λόγων ὁ Τῆτις Ἀλεξάμενος, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαιεύς ἰσορεῖ καὶ Σωτηρίων. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν ἔτιως γράφει, Οὐκ ἔν ἐδὲ ἡμέτερος τὰς καλεμένους Σώφρονος μίμους μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους καὶ μιμήσεις, ἢ τὰς Ἀλεξαμένῳ τῷ Τητίῳ τὰς πρώτας γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων· ἀντικρυς φάσκον ὁ περὶ λυμαθίσαι. Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ Πλάτωνος διαλόγους γεγραφαί τινι Ἀλεξάμενον. Haec quidem Athenaeus: Ubi sane verba illa Aristotelis τὰς πρώτας γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων, Athenaeus hisce interpretatur. [τὰς πρώτους] περὶ Πλάτωνος διαλόγους, κ. τ. λ. Plato enim in suis dialogis introducit Socratem qui hortetur juvenes, sophistas redarguat, viros doceat; unde haud immerito vocantur Socratici.—Quemadmodum igitur Aristoteles Alexameni dialogos prius scriptos, quam Plato suos Socraticos conscripisset, vocat τὰς πρώτας γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων, sic Divus Lucas, &c. *Herw. ubi supra.* p. 197.

passage

passage of *Athenaeus*, who quotes *Aristotle*, saying, (as *Herwaert* understands the words,) that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were writ before the *Socratic* dialogues; [that is, the dialogues in which *Plato* introduces *Socrates*;] expressly affirming, says *Athenaeus*, that *Alexamenus* writ dialogues before *Plato*.

But it is very plain to me, that *Aristotle* says that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were the first *Socratic* dialogues; that is, that *Alexamenus* was the inventor of that way of writing. I have transcribed the passage of *Athenaeus* more at length than *Herwaert* has done. And if the reader will consider the whole of it, I think he will be convinced: 1st, That by *Socratic dialogues* is here meant, not *Plato's dialogues*, in which he introduces *Socrates*, but in general that way of writing: and 2dly, That *Aristotle* says, that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were the first of the kind. From whence *Athenaeus* infers very justly, that *Aristotle* says expressly, that *Alexamenus* writ dialogues before *Plato*.

I think likewise, that *Athenaeus* never dreamed of that meaning of *Aristotle's* words, which *Herwaert* affixes to them. Inter-

(1) So *Athanasius* says expressly: τῶν εἰρη τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων.

pret *Aristotle*, as *Herwaert* does, and *Athenaeus* is guilty of a ridiculous tautology in his inference.

That I understand *Aristotle* right, is farther evident from *Diogenes Laertius*, whose words upon the same subject are thus: "Some say, that *Zeno* the *Elean* was the first writer of dialogues, but *Aristotle* in his first book of Poets says, that *Alexandrus* the *Teian* was, as does also *Phavorinus* in his commentaries (u)."

But though I contest all these instances, (as thinking I have given the true meaning of all those places;) it must be allowed, that *Perizonius*'s example from *Aristophanes*, and another from *Alexander Aphrodisius* (x), alleged by others in this cause, prove that *πρῶτον*, used adverbially, is put without *πρὸ* following it to denote the priority they contend for. How far the argument will hold by way of analogy from adverbs to adjectives, I cannot say. It ought also to be allowed,

(u) Διαλόγες τίνων φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἐλεάτην· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλεξάνδριν τὴν Τείων, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρίων ἐν ἀπομνημονεύμασι. *Diog. Laert. l. iii. Segm. 48.*

(x) Ἡ πληγὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀστραπῆς τὴν βρόντην ἀποτελεῖ ἢ ἄμα. Ictus prius tonitru perficit quàm fulgur, aut simul. *Alexand. Aphrod. Problem. l. i.*

that

that the *πρῶτός μοι τῆ ἰσθῆ* of 2 Sam. xix. 43. (but not found in all copies of the *Seventy*,) is an equivalent phrase to that in St. *Luke*, and to be understood in the sense put upon St. *Luke's* words. The passage from the *Maccabees*, *Last of all after the sons the mother died*, contains also a parallel phrase. To these I add two other instances (y) of *πρῶτος* itself, which I am unwilling to contest, and shall leave with the reader.

Perizonius's way of accounting for this construction by the ellipsis of a preposition to be understood, when not expressed, is well argued from the two instances he has alleged of *πρὸ* subjoined to *πρῶτος*. I add another like instance from *Eusebius* (z): Though perhaps the other way of supposing *πρώτη* used for *προτέρα* (a) need not be quite rejected.

(y) *Πρὸ τῶν ὅλων ὅλων, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῶν ἔστι θεὸς εἷς, πρῶτος καὶ τῆ πρώτης θεῶ καὶ βασιλείας.* Ante eas res quae vere sunt, & ante principia universalium est unus deus prior etiam primo deo & rege. *Jamblich. de Mysteriis, §. 8. c. 2.* Καὶ πρῶτος ἔστιφανῆτο τῶν ἄλλων. primus ante alios corona honoratus est. *Dionys. Hal. Hist. Rom. l. iv. c. 3.*

(z) *Αὐτίκα γὰρ μάλα θιασώμεθα, ὅπως μὲν ὁ Πλάτων τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς πρώτης ἰσκόπῃεν, ὅπως δὲ τῆς Πλάτωνος διαδόχους ἄλλοι.* *Praepar. Ev. l. 14. c. 2.*

(a) *Ἐστὶ δὲ τις δύναμις, οὐσίας μὲν διελίξας, ψυχῆς δὲ πρώτης.*

I presume this may be sufficient to shew, that the phrase in St. *Luke* is capable of the sense contended for by these learned men. But I cannot yet persuade my self, that it is the real sense of the text for the following reasons.

1. This is a very uncommon use of the word *πρῶτον*. This, I think, is evident, in that the critics have been so much at a loss for instances. *Stevens* knew of (*b*) none, beside that produced above from *Aphrodisius*, where *πρῶτον* is used adverbially. There are also almost innumerable other ways of expressing this priority of time (*c*). The reason of the *Greek* writers so rarely using this word thus is very obvious: It can hardly be done without causing some ambiguity; therefore when they use it in this sense, we see they often subjoin *πρό*. That this use of *πρῶτον* was designedly avoided, seems to me evident from a passage of *He-*

Est autem quaedam vis essentiâ quidem inferior, sed nobilior animo. Sallust. de mundo. c. 8.

(*b*) *Πρῶτον πρότερον*, prius. *Alexander Aphrodisius*, ἡ πληγὴ, κ. λ. Quem alioqui usum apud vetustiores scriptores rarissimum esse puto: offertur tamen & ex *Aristotelis Rhet. πρῶτον ἢ*, pro prius quàm. *Thesaur. Gr. Tom. 3. 567. A.*

(*c*) *Πρὸ, πρότερον, πρῶτον*, [adverb.] *πρῶτα, πρῶτη, πρῶτον, &c.*

Herodotus; where having in the former branch of the sentence twice used the superlative, in the later he takes the comparative; either to avoid ambiguity, or as more agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* language (d)."

2. It does not appear, that any of the first *Christians* understood *St. Luke* in this sense. That they did not so interpret this text, we are assured from the *Syriac*, *Vulgate*, and other Versions; from *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, and from the passage of *Julian* above quoted; in which he certainly represents the common opinion of people in his time, of *Christians* and others.

7. There is another solution, which was first proposed by (e) *Beza*, and has been embraced by many learned (f) men. The Roman

(d) Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφίσι βασιλεύσαι, ἰσχυρίζοντο ἑωυτοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας, ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἱ τινες γενόιστο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑωυτοὺς. *Herodot. l. 2. init.* The *Egyptians*, before the reign of *Psammetichus*, thought themselves the first [or most ancient] of all people. But since the reign of *Psammetichus*, who made an experiment for finding out who were the first of all people, they have thought that the *Phrygians* were before them, they before others.

(e) *Bez. in loc. Vid. & Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. x. §. 3.*

(f) *Grot. & Hamm. in loc. Scaliger. animad. in Chron. Euseb.*

Roman Catholic authors, that approve of this solution, agree to understand the words, as they stand in the vulgate version: *This first Description, or Enrolment, was made by Cyrenius (g)*. The Protestants generally render them: *This first Enrolment was made, Cyrenius being President of Syria: or, when Cyrenius was President of Syria (h)*.

By President of Syria, they do not understand President in the most strict and proper sense of the word; it being apparent from *Josephus*, that either *Saturninus*, or *Quintilius Varus*, must have been President of Syria at the time this enrolment was made. And there is no instance of two persons being jointly Presidents with equal power in the same province, when a province was in peace, as Syria was at this time (i).

They suppose, that when *Augustus* had issued his decree, that all the world, that is,

feb. ad A. 2016. Casaub. in Bar. Exerc. i. Num. 31. 32. Usser. Ann. ant. aet. Chr. v. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Dissert. ii. p. 320. —322. Pagi. App. ad ann. Bar. Num. 126---129.

(g) Haec descriptio prima facta est a praefide Syriae, Cyreno.

(h) Haec descriptio prima facta est praesidente Syriae Cyrenio. Bez. Haec descriptio prima facta est, cum praecesset Syriae Cyrenius. Casaub. ubi supra. Num. 31.

(i) Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. cap. 16. §. 10.

all the *Roman Empire* should be taxed, (for in this wide and extensive sense do these learned men understand these words of St. *Luke*,) *Cyrenius* was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in *Syria* and *Judea*: And *Saturninus*, or *Quintilius Varus*, which soever of them was then President, was joined with him: and was subordinate to him, or had equal power with him in this particular work. *Cyrenius* therefore having at this time some power in *Syria*, he is called President of it, though he was not properly President, or the ordinary chief magistrate of that province.

In order to justify this solution, two things are to be considered: 1. Whether *Cyrenius*, though not properly President of *Syria*, may be called so in a loose and general sense: 2. It must be shewn, that it is not unlikely, that *Cyrenius* might be sent upon this affair at this time with extraordinary power.

As to the first point, it is alleged, that the title of *Governour* or *President* is often given to others beside those who are properly possessed of that dignity. *Josephus* calls *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* Presidents of *Syria* (*k*), though

(*k*) Ἐκείνῳ δὲ διελήγιστο περὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγεμόνων
Σατοῦς

though *Saturninus* was at that time President, according to his own account, and *Volumnius* Procurator only; that is, the officer that took care of the Emperour's revenue in that province.

That *Cyrenius* might be sent upon this affair with extraordinary power, is not at all unlikely. For the office of Censor in the City was very honorable, and was a distinct charge from that of the Consuls and Praetors, the ordinary magistrates. The surveys in provinces also were often performed not by the ordinary governours, but by persons sent thither with extraordinary power, and those, persons of the highest eminence and dignity (1).

Such an one was this *Cyrenius*. He was not descended from a noble, or *Patrician* family: But by his early services he had obtained the honour of the Consulship, and passed through that and other offices with

Σατυρνίνω τε καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ — περὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τοῖς Σατυρνίνῳ καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστατέων. *Ant. l. 16. c. 9. p. 734. v. 25. & 37.* Πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατυρνίνῳ ἐλθόντα καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμόνας. *ib. c. 10. p. 741. v. 1.*

(1) Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. *Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 31. ad A. U. 767.* Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti, excessisse Augustum, adfertur. *Id. c. 33, vid. & l. ii. c. 6.*

great

great reputation : obtained a memorable victory over the *Homonadenses*, for which he received the honour of triumphal ornaments : was afterwards Governour to *Caius Cesar*, *Augustus*'s eldest adopted son : married *Aemelia Lepida*, who had been designed by *Augustus* for the wife of *Lucius*, his second adopted son ; and at last had the honour of a public funeral by a decree of the senate in the reign of *Tiberius* (m).

The quick dispatch he made of affairs of importance rendered him a very fit man for such an affair as this Census in *Syria* and *Judea*.

Moreover there is nothing in the history that we have of *Cyrenius*, which is any way inconsistent with his coming into *Judea* about this time : but divers particulars,

(m) Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirinii publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit [*Tiberius*] a Senatu. Nihil ad veterem & patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium : Sed impiger militiae, & acribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto ; mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium Castellis insignia triumphi adeptus ; datusque Rector Caio Caesari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. Tacit. An. l. iii. c. 48. Quirinio---destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari, ac Divo Augusto nurus, dederetur. Id. ibid. c. 23. De hac re vid. etiam Sueton. Tib. c. 49. & de victoriâ in Homonadenses partâ. Strabon. l. xii. p. 854.

which

which render it very probable he might be employed in this work.

Cyrenius was Consul of *Rome*, A. U. 742. He might therefore very well be sent upon the expedition against the *Homonadenses* in the year U. C. 747. or, possibly, in 746. It was a piece of prudent advice, which *Mæcenas* gave (n) *Augustus*, never to bestow a provincial government upon the Senators, or other great men, till some time after they had laid down their City Magistracy. Which advice *Augustus* followed, and appointed the space of five years interval between their serving any public office in the City, and receiving another in the provinces (o).

As *Cyrenius's* expedition against the fore-mentioned people was his first action after his consulship, he might very probably be employed in it, A. U. 747. Archbishop *Usher* (p) thinks he was then Proconsul of *Cilicia*. Cardinal *Noris* thinks it more likely, that he was not then the ordinary Go-

(n) *Dio lib. 52. p. 479. fin.*

(o) Μηδὲνα πρὸ πάντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρξαι κληρῶσαι. *Id. l. 53. p. 505. C.* Auctor & aliarum rerum fuit. In queis---ne magistratus deposito statim honore in provincias mitterentur. *Sueton. Aug. c. 36.*

(p) *Vid. Ann. A. 5. ante aer. Chr.*

vernour of *Cilicia*, but that he was sent upon this expedition with extraordinary (q) power. However the learned men that embrace this solution suppose, that having finished this war, he might be sent into *Syria* and *Ju-dea* to perform the census there, in the later end of the year of *Rome*, 747; or, as others, in 748, or 749. About which time the census or enrolment, which *St. Luke* speaks of, must have been made; for *Herod* died in the year 750, or 751.

Cyrenius was not appointed Governour to *Caius Cesar* till the year U. C. 755. Cardinal *Noris* infers this from the words of *Tacitus* above-cited: *datus Reſtor Caio Caefari Armeniam obtinenti*. It is evidently a mistake of those learned men who have thought, that *Cyrenius* was Governour to *Caius*, when he first went into the *East*. It is certain, that *M. Lollius* was then his Governour. And *Cyrenius* was not put into that post, till after the death of *Lollius* (r), which seems to have happened some time in the year of *Rome* 755. Besides, it is certain from *Josephus*, that *Caius* was at *Rome* after the death

(q) *Cenotaph. Pis. Diff. ii. p. 319.*

(r) *Velleius, l. ii. c. 102. Suet. Tib. c. 13. Noris. ubi supra, p. 317.*

of *Herod*, and therefore was not yet set out for the *East*. For he was one of those, whom *Augustus* called to the Council he held after *Herod's* death about confirming his last will (s).

Cyrenius therefore seems to have been at leisure for this work. And from the whole of his story and character, so far as it is come down to us from the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, no man appears more likely to have been employed in it.

This solution has one advantage above most of those above-mentioned, in that it is here allowed, that this survey was performed by *Cyrenius*, in which all the ancient christian writers agree, except *Tertullian*; who in one place (but the only place in which he has named the chief officer concerned in it,) ascribes it to *Saturninus*. And we are much obliged to these learned men for tracing the history of *Cyrenius*, and thereby removing, in part at least, the objections against this supposition, which has been the current opinion of Christians.

There is however one difficulty attending this solution: I mean the sense, in which these learned men understand *Cyrenius's* go-

(s) *Joseph. Ant. l. 17. c. 9. p. 775. v. 24.*

vernment or presidentship. I do not at all contest the validity of their argument, that the title of ἡγεμῶν may be given to one who is not properly president. But since *Cyrenius* certainly was afterwards the ordinary Governour of *Syria*, it is not easy to understand this title in *St. Luke* in a loose and general way. And I can never perswade myself, that *St. Luke* intended no more, than the power and authority of making a census in *Syria*. If *Cyrenius* had never been President of *Syria*, perhaps their instances had been to the point; but now, I think, they are not. Besides, according to the way in which these learned men generally interpret *St. Luke*, ἡγεμονεύοντι, &c. is here the genitive case absolute, or governed by ἐπὶ understood: either of which does as fully express *Cyrenius's* being President of *Syria*, as any form of expression can do.

Joseph Scaliger seems to have interpreted these words somewhat differently from other learned men, who embrace this solution. He takes them thus: *This description was the first under Cyrenius, president of Syria.* I put his words in the margin (*t*), that the reader

(*t*) Ideo S. Lucas non contentus est dicere Αὐτὴν ἀπογραφὴν
B b b ἰσχύοντα.

reader may judge whether I misunderstand him. But still this interpretation is liable to the objection last mentioned: for it is implied in it, that *Cyrenius* was President of *Syria*, at the time of both these surveys.

§. V. There is yet another interpretation, which these words are capable of, and which has for some time appeared to me the genuine meaning of them. *This was the first assessment of Cyrenius, Governour of Syria.* The natural order of the words is this: Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ ἢ γ. Τ. Σ. Κ. There are innumerable instances of a construction parallel with this here of Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη. *Matth. xxii. 38.* Αὕτη ἐστὶ πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή. *This is the first and great commandment. Mark xii. 30.* Αὕτη πρώτη ἐντολή. *Numb. ii. 32.* Αὕτη ἐπίσκεψις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. *These are those which were numbered of the children of Israel.* I put an instance or two more into (u) the margin.

It

ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύειν τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου. Sed quum duas ἀπογραφὰς sciret fuisse, addidit, πρώτη. αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ ἢ γένετο πρώτη. Certè, si est πρώτη, ergo quaedam fuit δευτέρα; & sane τῆς δευτέρας meminit. *idem. Act. v. 37.* Atque ita distinguendum esse nemo dubitare potest. *Scaliger. animadv. in Chron. Euseb. ad A. 2016.*

(u) *Numb. i. 44.* Αὕτη ἡ ἐπίσκεψις ἢ ἐπισκέψατο Μωϋσῆς. cap.

It is easie for the reader to observe, these instances are parallel with the words before us: the particle *ἡ* or *αἱ* follows *Αὕτη* or *Αὗται*, and precedes the substantive.

Ἐγένετο is not here *facta est*, *was made*, but *fuit*, *was*. I presume I need not give any proofs, that this is a very common meaning of this verb.

The distant situation of *Ἐγένετο* in St. *Luke* from *αὕτη* need not create any scruple. In some examples the verb substantive is quite wanting, as in *Mark xii. 30. Numb. i. 44.* Sometimes *ἐστὶν* is expressed, and follows immediately after *αὕτη*. But it is found in all kinds of positions in passages parallel with this of St. *Luke*. I give one instance, which answers the construction of this verse in every respect. *Rev. xix. 9. ἔτοι οἱ λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ. These are the true sayings of God.* And another instance from (x) *Plato* of *Ἐγένετο* it self, in a situation exactly parallel with this in St. *Luke*. *Ἡ δὲ ἡ τελευταία, ὡς ἔχερατες, τῷ ἐταίρῳ ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ἀνδρὸς, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν ἂν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστῃ, καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτῃ καὶ δικαιοτάτῃ.* “ This, cap. iii. 1. Καὶ αὗται αἱ γενέσεις Ἀαρών. v. 2. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἱεράματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρών vid. cap. iv. 32. 38. Deut. vi. 1. Ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς.

(x) *Phaedo. Fin.*

B b b 2

“ O E-

“ O Echebrates, was the end of our friend ;
 “ and, as we say, the best, wisest and just-
 “ est man that ever we knew.”

If it be objected, that it must be *this census* ; or this *first census* was made, and not this was the first census ; because there is no noun substantive preceding αὕτη, by which it can be governed : I answer, that as I interpret the words, αὕτη is governed by the ἀπογραφὴ that follows, or by an ἀπογραφὴ understood. And this is the case of many other (y) passages, which yet must be construed, as I do St. *Luke*.

Let us proceed. When St. *Luke* calls *Cyrenius Governour of Syria*, I understand the words in the strict and proper sense. Ἡγεμονεύοντ^ς τῆς Συρίας is not the genitive case absolute, or governed by ἐπὶ understood, and to be construed, *Cyrenius being governour of Syria*, or *when Cyrenius was governour of Syria* ; but it is governed by ἀπογραφὴ. They do not express any time at all. But this is *Cyrenius's* title, the title, by which he was well known in that part of the world :

(y) Ezek. xlviii. v. 1. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρια τῶν φυλῶν. v. 29. 30. Αὕτη ἡ γῆ, ἣν βαλεῖτε ἐν κλήρῳ ταῖς φυλαῖς τῆ Ἰσραὴλ· οἱ διαμερισμοὶ αὐτῶν—Καὶ αὗται αἱ διεκολαὶ τῆς πόλεως.
 εἰς.

As we say, *Antony the Triumvir*, or *Cato the Censor*, to distinguish them from others of the same names. ἡγεμονεύοντες, &c. is with me the same thing, as if *St. Luke* had said, ἡγεμόν της Συρίας Κυρηνίς.

It is certain, that *Greek* authors delight very much in the use of participles; and I think, more especially, when they speak of titles and dignities. Thus *Cicero*, in (x) *Dio*, says: "We expect that our Praetors and Consuls should follow the lawes of reason and justice." The same historian (a) says: "The three brothers, the *Antonies*, had all of them some office in the City at one and the same time: *Marcus* was Consul, *Lucius* Tribune, and *Caius* Praetor."

These participles seem to me to be sometimes substantives, or at least, to be (b) used substantively. I believe all are sensible that ἄρχων is so used. Some of those other titles

(x) Τὰς μὲν γεληγῶντας τὰς θ' ὑπατεύουσας πάντα ἀπ' ὁρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖν ἀξιόσομεν. Lib. 43. p. 250 D.

(a) Τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι ἔσσι οἷον ἄρχας ἅμα πάντες ἴσχωσι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάρκος ὑπατεύων· ὁ δὲ Λέκιος δημαγωγὸν· ὁ δὲ Γαῖος γεληγὼν. Lib. 45. p. 274. C.

(b) Δεκίανδρος Κάτος ὁ τῆς νῆσις ἐπιτροπεύων. Dio l. 62. p. 791. A. Κεσίω Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντι. Joseph. p. 907. v. 12. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντι· δεθείς. id. p. 945 v. 35.

of offices or dignities expressed by participles seem to me to be very near, or altogether parallel with it.

But let ἡγεμονεύοντ^ς be a mere participle; only then it will be said: If it be governed by ἀπογραφῇ, it ought to have been ἡγεμονεύσαντ^ς. To this I answer, that undoubtedly ἡγεμονεύσαντ^ς would have been very proper, but so is also ἡγεμονεύοντ^ς. It is no uncommon thing for *Greek* authors to use the present tense for the first aorist. I give an instance or two that may fully justify my interpretation. *Josephus* says: "And it is certain that *Varus* was of a Royal family, since he was a descendent of *Soranus*, who was Tetrarch of a countrey near mount (c) *Libanus*." καὶ ἦν ὁμολογούμενος ὁ οὐαρ^ς βασιλικῷ γένει, ἔγγον^ς Σοέρ^ς τῷ περὶ Λίβανον τέτραρχῶν^{τι}. *Dionysius* says, that the *Latins* were so called from *Latinus*, a King of that countrey (d). If any should say, it is improper to understand this participle, as I do, because *Cyrenius* was not Governor of *Syria*, till after the time in which *St. Luke's* survey was made; I add one ex-

(c) pag. 909. v. 20.

(d) Ὀνομα δὲ κοινὸν οἱ σύμπαντες ἔτοι Λατῖνοι ἐκλήθησαν ἵνα ἀνδρὸς δυναστεύοντ^ς τῶν τόπων Λατίν^ς *Antiq. R. lib. 2. p. 76. v. 24.*
ample

ample more, which must fully obviate this exception. *Herodian* says, "That to *Mar-*
" *cus* the Emperour were born several
" daughters (e) and two sons." τῷ βασι-
λεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείους, ἄρ-
χες δὲ δύο. Yet several of those children
were born to him before he was Emperour.
This instance shews plainly, that these par-
ticiples do not always import only the time
when men are in office.

I hope this is sufficient to shew, that ἡγε-
μονεύοντι is the same as ἡγεμένῳ, at least that
it is governed by ἀπογεαφῇ. The supposing
ἡγεμονεύοντι τ. σ. κ. to be the genitive abso-
lute, or governed by ἐπὶ, as it has given oc-
casion for the objection we are now upon, so
it seems to have carried most learned men
off from the right way of solving it.

I apprehend I have now justified my in-
terpretation of every part of this verse: *This*
was the first Assessment (or survey) of Cyre-
nius, the Governour of Syria, or of Cyreni-
us, who was Governour of Syria.

But if any choose rather to take *Scaliger's*
method, as to the first part of the verse, I
shall not contend about that, provided my
sense of the later part be admitted. Then

(e) *Lib. i. init.*

the interpretation will stand thus : This survey was the first [*survey*] of *Cyrenius* the Governour of *Syria*.

Nor can I see any reason why all those who follow *Beza*, and suppose that this survey was made by *Cyrenius*, as well as that made after *Archelaus's* removal, should not receive this interpretation. When they come to shew, why this is called by St. *Luke* the first survey, though indeed they have not translated the place as I do (*f*), they unavoidably run into the same meaning. *Baronius* (*g*) likewise understands the words much after the same manner, only he falsely supposed, that *Cyrenius* was twice president of *Syria*.

(*f*) Denique dicitur haec descriptio *πρώτη*, ut distinguatur ab aliâ, de qua *AA.* v. 57. quam *Josephus* & *Eusebius* litteris consignarunt, & sub *Cyrenio* etiam factam dicunt, licet diverso tempore. *Hamm. in loc. ex versione Cleric.*

Hunc igitur censum *Quirinius* habuit A. U. 749. cum extraordinario imperio in *Syriam* missus; quae descriptio prima à S. *Luca* dicitur, quod idem postea *Quirinius* A. U. 760. praeses ordinarius in *Syriam* veniens, censum iterum in *Judaea* egit, eâdem tum primum in provinciae formam redactâ. *Norif. Cenotaph. Pis. p. 322.*

(*g*) Quod igitur ab Evangelista ea descriptio a *Quirino* prima facta dicitur, non sic (ut vidimus) est accipiendum, ut tunc primum *Judaei* fuerint descripti atque censi : sed primam dixerit respectu secundae sub eodem praefide facta. *App. Num. 88.*

Some

Some time after I had been perswaded this was the sense of this text, I met with these words of *Tanaquil Faber* (b). *Beatus Lucas, cap. 2. ait natum esse Christum dominum tempore primi census, seu descriptionis, quae a Cyrenio seu Quirinio facta est.* This passage gave me a great deal of pleasure, though it does not appear how this acute and learned man understood ἡγεμονεύον-
τῶ.——But I have since met with a more explicite authority for my way of translating αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφὴ. The title of *Origen's* xith Homily upon *St. Luke*, in the *Latin* edition of his works, is thus : *De eo quod scriptum est, Puer autem crescebat & confortabatur spiritu, usque ad eum locum ubi ait : Haec est descriptio prima quae facta est sub praefide Syriae Cyrino.* And in the body of the homily (i) are words to the same effect.

The version I here offer does not only appear to me a very natural and obvious meaning of the words, but it is very good sense, and extremely suitable to their position in a parenthesis. *In those days there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world [land] should be taxed. (This was the first as-*

(b) *Epist. lib. i. ep. 43.*

(i) *Haec fuit descriptio prima, a praefide Syriae Cyrino.*

sessment of Cyrenius the Governour of Syria.)

It is needless to observe, that if this version be allowed, the objection we are considering vanishes. There is no colour or pretense to say, that St. *Luke* confounded the census or survey, made in the time of *Herod*, with that made after the removal of *Archelaus*.

§. VI. I apprehend there lies now no objection against St. *Luke*, but what may arise from the doubts, which some may have in their minds, concerning *Cyrenius* being the officer employed in making this survey. I wish the reader be not quite tired with this long succession of criticisms. But whether he will accompany me any farther or not, I think my self obliged to take into consideration all the difficulties, which attend this particular circumstance.

Here I adopt at once all that has been already offered by those who embrace *Beza's* solution, to make it appear probable, that *Cyrenius* performed the census of which St. *Luke* speaks. But now I enjoy a peculiar advantage above those learned men, in the supposition I advanced at first, that this census of *Cyrenius* was of *Judea* only. They think,

think, that *Augustus's* decree extended to the whole Empire; and that *Cyrenius* was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in *Syria* and *Judea*. But they suppose, (and indeed they are obliged to allow it,) that *Saturninus* was joyned with him, if *Saturninus* was then president. This has given *Perizonius* (*k*) a fine advantage against their supposition, that *Cyrenius* was concerned in this census. To give *Cyrenius* superior, or equal power to *Saturninus* in *Syria*, the province of which he was the ordinary governour, would have been an affront; especially considering, that *Saturninus* was equal to *Cyrenius*, in every respect, and superior to him in some: for he was of a better family, and the elder Consul by seven years. And it is no less injurious to *Cyrenius*, to put him under *Saturninus*.

I am not at all concerned with this. I think *Cyrenius* performed the census alone, by virtue of the extraordinary power with which he was sent. But if any are inclined to think, that *Saturninus* was joyned in the commission with him, this would be no disparagement to *Saturninus*. To give him authority in a neighbouring kingdome,

(*k*) *Dissert. de Aug. Descrip.* §. 15. 16. 17.

where

where he had none before, would not be to lessen him, but to augment his power. Nor do I suppose, it could be any disgrace to *Cyrenius*, to have the Governour of *Syria* made his partner.

I proceed to consider all the difficulties that can affect the supposition, that this census was made by *Cyrenius*, as far as I am concerned with them.

1. It is said, that it was not customary for the *Romans* to send any great man twice into the same countrey. Since it is certain from *Josephus*, that *Cyrenius* afterwards made a census in *Syria* and *Judea*, it may be concluded, he did not perform that survey, which *St. Luke* says was made in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's nativity (1).

To this I answer: I allow, that it was not usual for the same person to be more than once made the President of one and the same province. And in this *Baronius*, who thought *Cyrenius* was twice or thrice Governour of *Syria*, is deserted by all learned men. For none of the defenders of *Beza's*

(1) Multis de causis displicet nobis gemina haec *Cyrenii* descriptio. Bis ad eandem rem *Quirinium* in *Syriam* fuisse missum, fidem vix imperat, nec *Romanos* ad mores quadrat. *Basnage. Ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. Dom. 5. num. 14.*

solution, who maintain the double census of *Cyrenius*, do say, that *Cyrenius* was twice the ordinary president of *Syria*.

But it was very common for one and the same person to be sent twice or oftner into the same countrey in different posts, or with different degrees of authority. *Casaubon* (m) has produced instances enough to silence this objection. *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, the person last mentioned by him, was sent twice into *Syria* by *Augustus* with extraordinary power: First of all, A. U. 731. (n), and again, A. U. 738 (o).

I will give an undeniable example of an officer's being twice in the same province with different degrees of power. When *Piso*, prefect of *Syria*, had been removed by *Germanicus*, and after that *Germanicus* him-

(m) Neque vero nullum est exemplum illorum, qui in eadem provincias cum eodem, vel diverso munere sunt missi. C. Cassius profectus in Syriam Quaestor M. Crassi; mox ipso & ejus exercitu deleto, res magnas ibi gessit, & aliquamdiu provinciam obtinuit: eidemque post aliquot annos senatus Syriam & bellum contra Dolabellam decrevit. Ventidius Bassus, quando primum cum Parthis bellum gessit, Antonii fuit Legatus: postea ejusdem belli gerendi cura illi demandata est,—Agrippa qui per decennium Asiā administravit, bis ex Italia eodem, est profectus. *Casaub. in Baron. Exerc. 1. num. 32.*

(n) *Dio l. 53. p. 518. c.*

(o) *Id. l. 54. p. 534. B.*

self

self died ; the officers in the province had a consultation together, who should be made President of Syria. *Vibius Marfus* laid claim to it, but at last yielded to *Cn. Sentius Saturninus* (p), the elder officer. Thus *Sentius*, one of the chief officers then in the province, was made president. This alone is a proof, that it was very common for officers to serve different posts in the same province. But this is not the only thing I aim at. This consultation (q) was held A. U. 772. A. D. 19. And it appears from *Josephus* (r), and *Tacitus* (s), that long after this, in the reign (t) of *Claudius*, this same *Vibius Marfus* came to be actually president of Syria. There is therefore no absurdity at all in supposing, that *Cyrenius* was sent by *Augustus* with extraordinary power at the

(p) Consultatum inde inter legatos, quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Syriae praeficeretur. Et ceteris modice nissis, inter *VIBIUM MARSUM* & *Cn. Sentium* diu quaesitum: dein *Marsus* seniori, & acrius tendenti *Sentio* concessit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 74.*

(q) *M. Silano* & *L. Norbano* Coss.

(r) Καὶ μετ' ὃ πολὺ, Περώνιον μὲν Μάρσῳ διεδέξατο, καὶ διεῖπε Συρίαν. *Ant. 19. c. 6. §. 4.*

(s) Et recipere Armeniam, ni *VIBIO MARSO* Syriae legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret. *Tacit. Ann. xi. cap. 10.*

(t) About A. U. 795. *vid. Pagi. Crit. in Bar. A. D. 42. n. 8.*

later end of *Herod's* reign to make a survey in *Judea*, and that about ten or twelve years afterwards he came as the ordinary governor into *Syria*, and then made a census in that province, and in *Judea* annexed to it.

2. It is objected, that none of the *Roman* or *Greek* historians, though *Cyrenius* has been spoken of by several of them, have taken any notice of this census.

I answer, that this is no difficulty at all. I suppose, that no one will make any question, but that *Cyrenius* made an assessment in *Syria* and *Judea*, when he was sent president into *Syria*, because we have *Josephus's* authority for it. And yet none of the *Roman* or *Greek* authors have said any thing of that census.

Though *Tacitus* has in the passage cited above reckoned up divers of *Cyrenius's* exploits and honours, and others have made mention of him, and some of his services; yet *Florus* (u) has taken notice of a considerable action of his, omitted by all the rest: if indeed he means our *Cyrenius*.

(u) *Marmaridas atque Garamantas Curinio subigendo dedit* [Augustus]. *Potuit & ille redire Marmaricus; sed modestior in aestimanda victoria fuit.* *Florus lib. iv. cap. 12.*

3. But it will be said : It may be certainly concluded from the account, which *Josephus* has given of the census made (c) by *Cyrenius* after *Archelaus*'s banishment, that *Cyrenius* had never been in *Judea*, or enrolled the *Jews* before. If he had, *Josephus* could not well have omitted to take notice of it then.

I own, that at first sight this must appear a very considerable difficulty.

(1.) But it ought to be observed, that *Josephus* does not particularly name any of *Cyrenius*'s honours or services, beside those which relate to the City of *Rome*. *Josephus* knew of divers others, but he does not express them. And among those omitted or referred to in the general only, may be that of the first survey in *Judea*.

(2.) I think it is plain, that either *Josephus* did not care to give any particular account of that oath taken by the *Jews* to *Augustus* in the later end of *Herod*'s reign, or else that he found but a slight account of it in those memoirs or histories which he made use of. He had said nothing of it, had it not been for a most remarkable disturbance in *Herod*'s court and family, with which it had a connexion.

And

(c) See the account above, p. 661.

And any one may perceive, that it is then touched upon very slightly. Is it not strange, that *Josephus* should not name the officer that took the oath for *Augustus*? No one can make any doubt, but there was some person of eminence deputed by the Emperour for that work. As *Josephus* did not mention him then, I should never expect to find his name afterwards. And whoever can account for *Josephus*'s omissions relating to the affair of the oath, may account for his silence in this passage, though *Cyrenius* had been once before in *Judea*.

(3.) I think that arguments formed upon the omissions of historians are of very little weight. There are in *Josephus* other omissions as remarkable as this. I desire to consider the account he gives, in his *War of the Jews*, of the reducing *Judea* to a province. “*Archelaus*'s countrey being reduced to a province, *Coponius*, a man of the Equestrian rank among the *Romans*, was sent Procurator, being invested with the power of life and death. In his time [*ἐπὶ τῷ*] a certain *Galilean*, whose name was *Judas*, excited the people to a rebellion, telling them; That they were of a mean spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute

“ to the *Romans*, and acknowledge mortal
 “ men for their lords after God had been
 “ their King. This man was the head of
 “ a distinct sect in nothing like (x) the rest.”
 This is all he says. He does not say there
 was now any census made, has not one
 word of *Cyrenius*, or his coming into *Judea*.

It is true, that *Josephus* has in two other
 places in the *War of the Jews* (y), occasi-
 onally mentioned *Cyrenius*, and in the later
 of those places, his census also. But it must
 be allowed to be a very great omission, not
 to do this in the proper place, in the account
 of the reduction of *Judea* to the state of a
 province. This might have been reasona-
 bly expected in the history of the war, when
 this assessment made by *Cyrenius*, and the
 principles broached at that time, were main
 foundations of it.

If it be said, that *Josephus* passed over
 this affair slightly in the *War*, because he
 intended to write his *Antiquities*, and men-
 tion it more particularly then: I answer,
 this is said without ground. And I might
 as well say, that *Josephus* omitted in his
Antiquities the particular account of *Cyreni-*

(x) *De Bell. Lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1.*

(y) *Ibid. cap. 17. §. 8. & l. 7. c. 8. §. 1.*

us's first assessment, because he intended to write afterward another book of the history of the *Jews*, and go over their affairs once more, as he expressly assures us at the conclusion of his *Antiquities*.

Josephus informs us in his *Life*, writ after the *War*, and the *Antiquities*, that the *Jews* had a battle with *Gessius Florus*, their last Procurator, and killed him, and a good many of his men, and that this victory was fatal to them: Forasmuch as this determined them to the war with the (*z*) *Romans*. Is it not strange that *Josephus* should say nothing of this in the history of the *War*, where he has made so frequent mention of *Florus*, and ascribed the *Jewish* uneasiness under the Roman government to the cruelties and other irregularities of this man? For this instance I am indebted to (*a*) Mr. *Le Clerc*.

There is another omission appears to me very remarkable. *Pheroras*, *Herod's* youngest brother, is often mentioned by *Josephus*.

(*z*) Ὁ δ' ἐπελθὼν καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ νικῆθη, πολλῶν τῶν μετ' αὐτῷ πισόντων καὶ γίνεται τὸ Γεσίου πταῖσμα, συμφορὰ τῶ πάν-
τος ἡμῶν ἔθνους· ἐπὶ τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ μᾶλλον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον
ἀγαπήσαντες, καὶ νικῶντες τὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τέλος ἡλπίσαμεν.
in Vit. §. 6.

(*a*) *Hisp. Eccl. A. D. 66. n. 12.*

He has particularly informed us, that when *Augustus* was in *Syria*, he gave this *Pheroras* a Tetrarchy (*b*) at the request of *Herod*. And we are informed by *Josephus*, of *Pheroras*'s retirement into his Tetrarchy, of *Herod*'s visiting him there, and of *Pheroras*'s dying (*c*) at home, and of his being brought afterwards from thence to be buried. But yet, if I mistake not, he has never once said, what this Tetrarchy was, whose it had been before, nor where it lay. It is true, that whereas in the *Antiquities* (*d*) *Josephus* says, *Pheroras* went to his Tetrarchy; in his *War* (*e*) he says, he went to *Peraea*; or, as in some copies, *Petraea*: but *Peraea*, properly so called, could not be this Tetrarchy, because *Peraea* belonged all along to *Herod*. But this Tetrarchy of *Pheroras* was given him by *Augustus*, and was distinct from that estate or revenue which had (*f*) been settled upon him by *Herod*.

(*b*) *Antiq.* 15. c. 10. §. 3.

(*c*) *Ibid.* l. xvii. c. 3. de B. J. l. i. c. 29.

(*d*) Φερώραν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τετραρχίας· p. 756. v. 37.

(*e*) Φερώρας δὲ ὑποχωρήσιν εἰς τὴν Περαιάν· p. 1031. v. 41. vid. E p. 1032. v. 26.

(*f*) Τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἡτήσατο τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς ἀπονίμας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς οὐδὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντων· κ. λ. *Antiq.* 15. c. 10. §. 3.

These particulars may convince us, that though *Cyrenius* was in *Judea* in the time of *Herod*, *Josephus* was capable of omitting to take notice of it.

4. Again, it will be said : It may be fairly concluded from another place in *Josephus*, that *Cyrenius* was but once in *Judea*. For he says, that “ *Massada* was “ then held by *Eleazar*, the chief man of “ the *sicarii*, a descendent of *Judas*, who “ perswaded not a few of the *Jews* not to “ enrolle themselves, as I have said (g) above, when *Cyrenius* the Censor (b) was “ sent into *Judea*.”

I own, this is a difficulty, but the argument is not conclusive. It is true, that *Judas* made this disturbance, when *Cyrenius* was sent into *Judea*, or in the time of *Cyrenius* : but it does not follow, that *Cyrenius* was sent but once into *Judea*. The New Testament will afford us an instance upon this very subject, which will be of use to us. *Gamaliel* says : *After this man rose* *Act. v. 37.*

(g) *Vid. de Bell. l. 2. c. 17. §. 8.*

(b) Καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν φρούριον Μασσάδα, προεισῆκει δὲ τῶν κατελιηφότων αὐτὸ σικαρίων δυνατὸς ἀνὴρ Ἑλεάζαρ, ἀπόγονος Ἰούδα τοῦ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ ὀλίγου, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν, μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς, ὅτε Κυρήνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη. *de B. l. 7. c. 8. §. 1.*

up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him. If we had in our hands this book only of St. Luke, namely, *the Acts of the Apostles*; it is not unlikely, that many would have supposed, that St. Luke knew of no other taxing made in Judea, but that, in the time of which Judas rose up. But we are assured from his *Gospel*, that this conclusion would have been false: for there he has spoke very particularly of another, which he calls *the first*, or at least distinguishes very plainly from some other.

I must be allowed to repeat here once more, that arguments formed upon the silence of writers, are very seldom of much moment. *Josephus* is the only *Jewish* writer of those times, in whom we have the history of that countrey: And it cannot be justly concluded, that any particular thing was not done, or that such or such a circumstance did not attend it, because he has not mentioned it. All writers have their particular views, and some things we are very desirous to know might, for some reason or other, which we are ignorant of, lie without the compass of their designs. Besides, the most accurate and careful historians

rians have omitted many facts or incidents, that might be very properly mentioned, through forgetfulness or oversight. I take the omission of the description of the Tetrarchy that belonged to *Pheroras* to be a remarkable instance of this sort.

5. But it will be said, that *Tertullian* is positive, the census in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's birth was made by *Sentius Saturninus* (i).

I answer to this: (1.) It ought to be considered, that the heretic *Marcion*, with whom *Tertullian* disputes in this place, did not admit the authority of the first chapter (k) of St. *Luke's* Gospel. And it was the custom of *Tertullian*, to argue from those parts of scripture, which the heretics he was dealing with (l) acknowledged. Possibly therefore *Tertullian* having, or suppos-

(i) Sed & census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum. Apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. *Cont. Marc. lib. iv. c. 19.*

(k) Accedit his Cerdon quidam.—Solum evangelium Lucae, nec tamen totum recipit. Post hunc discipulus ipsius emerfit Marcion.—Haeresin Cerdonis approbare conatus est. *De praescrip. Haeret. c. 51.*

(l) Quam & argumentationibus earum, & scripturis quibus utuntur, provocavimus ex abundantia. *De carne Christi. cap. 25.*

ing he had reason to think, that this census was made, when *Saturninus* was president of *Syria*, he might choose to mention the ordinary officer, as a thing certain : but yet might not intend to affirm, that the census was made by him, but only that it happened in his time. *Isaac Casaubon* judged it not unreasonable so to understand *Tertullian*, who often uses words (*m*) improperly. I thought it not fit to deprive the reader of this answer of that learned man. But I do not adopt his interpretation of *Tertullian*.

(2.) *Tertullian's* authority ought not to outweigh the testimony of more ancient writers, who were nearer the event. *Justin Martyr*, in his first apology, presented to the Roman Emperour sixty years before *Tertullian* wrote his books against *Marcion*, says, this Census was performed in *Judea* by *Cyrenius* ; and all other writers agree with *Justin*, as has been shewn already.

(3.) *Tertullian's* authority is of the less weight in this point, because he has made

(*m*) *Tertullianus* cum adversus *Marcio*. scribit, *Sed & constat*, — ad majorem fidem magistratum ordinarium potius nominat, quam extraordinarium. Ait autem *per Sentium Saturninum* durè & *Tertullianice*, hoc est, improprie pro *ἡγεμονεύοντι τῆς Σ. Κ.* *Casaub. Exercit.* 1. n. 31.

very gross blunders in history, of which I shall say somewhat more in the third chapter.

(4.) I imagine some account may be given of this mistake of *Tertullian*. It has been observed, that *Marcion*, whom *Tertullian* was now arguing with, did not own the first chapters of St. *Luke's* Gospel. *Tertullian* therefore not having his eye particularly on St. *Luke*, and supposing that this census was made in *Judea*, when *Saturninus* was president of *Syria*, says, it was made by him.

Judea having been afterwards a branch of the province of *Syria*, he concluded it was so at this time, and that therefore the census must have been made by the President of *Syria*. But this was arguing from later to more early times, as men not thoroughly versed in history are apt to do.

After the banishment of *Archelaus* *Judea* was annexed to *Syria*. But whilst *Herod* was living, the President of *Syria* had not any proper authority in *Judea*. The President of *Syria* was always the most considerable officer in the Eastern part of the Empire. When the *Romans* had any war (m) in
that

(n) Tum intellecto Barbarorum irrifu, qui peterent quod eripu-

that part of the world, the neighbouring Kings were obliged to follow his directions; to furnish those sums of money, or those troops, which he required, and to send these to the places he appointed. When any differences happened between these Kings and Tetrarchs, they were bound to refer them to him, nor could they march any forces out of their territories without his consent. But he seems not, especially in a time of peace, to have had any proper authority within their dominions.

Nor do I think, I here impute to *Tertullian* any very gross mistake. The state of dependent kingdoms and provinces in the Roman Empire underwent frequent changes. And a person had need to have made history his peculiar study, and to have aimed at some uncommon accuracy, in order to understand the state of the Roman provinces for a couple of centuries.

I have now gone through all the difficulties, which are of any moment in this point.

eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret, nec dubitatum de BELLO.—scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque ac procuratoribus, —jussu Corbulonis obsequi. Tacit. Ann. 15. cap. 25.

I have

I have nothing farther to add to those evidences which I have already produced, except these two observations: 1st, That it seems to me highly probable, from the manner in which *Eusebius* speaks of this matter in his chronicle, that it was originally the common opinion of Christians, that *Cyrenius* was sent into *Judea* on purpose to make this census: "In the thirty third year of *Herod*, *Cyrenius* being sent by the Roman Senate, made a census (or enrolments) of goods and persons (o)." This does very much confirm the opinion of those learned men, who think, that *Cyrenius* was sent with extraordinary power: though why *Eusebius* mentions the *Senate* instead of the *Emperour*, I know not.

Possibly some may be disposed to set aside *Eusebius's* authority, because in his *Ecclesiastical History* he has confounded the two surveys. But I must confesse, I ascribe that, not to ignorance, but to somewhat a great deal worse. It is impossible, that a man of *Eusebius's* acutenesse, who had the New Testament and *Josephus* before him, should think a census made after *Archelaus's* banishment was the same with that made be-

(o) *Chron. pag. 76.*

fore *Herod* died. But *Eusebius* was resolved to have St. *Luke*'s history confirmed by the exprefs testimony of the *Jewish* historian, right or wrong. Here *Eusebius* was under a biaſſe. In his Chronicle we have a ſimply unbiaſſed account of what was the opinion of Chriſtians, and others, at that time.

Secondly, It ſeems to me in the nature of the thing moſt probable, that ſome perſon was ſent with extraordinary power to make this enrolment. There is no evidence in *Joſephus*, that *Augustus* had any intention to take away the kingdome from *Herod*, and make *Judea* a province. A cenſus in his dominions was a very great diſgrace. But to have ordered it to be performed by the Prefident of *Syria*, would have been an additional affront. It would have looked like making *Herod* ſubject to *Syria*. Since *Judea* was to continue a diſtinct kingdom, as hitherto, and only to be reduced to a more ſtrict dependence; the only method of making this cenſus could be that of ſending ſome perſon of honour and dignity, like *Cyrenius*, to enrolle the ſubjects of *Herod*, and value their eſtates; that for the future, tribute might be paid according to this cenſus. And
this

this does admirably suit the nature of the oath mentioned in *Josephus*, the substance of which was, to be faithful to *Cesar* and *Herod*.

I conclude therefore, that it is, upon the whole, most probable, that the first assessment, of which *St. Luke* here writes, was performed by *Cyrenius*, as well as the second. This appears to me a very natural meaning of *St. Luke's* words, and the external evidences for this supposition seem to me to outweigh the objections.

We have now got through the affair of the census. If I have not been so happy, as to remove every difficulty attending this text of *St. Luke*; yet I hope the reader will allow at least, that I have not concealed, or dissembled any.





C H A P. II.

Two objections taken from the Silence of Josephus.

I. *He has not mentioned the slaughter of the Infants of Bethlehem:* II. *Nor of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.*

Matt. iii. 16.

§ I.  T. Matthew says: *Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.*

It is objected to this, that if there had been so cruel a slaughter made by *Herod*, of innocent infants at *Bethlehem*, a place not far from *Jerusalem*, it is very unlikely it should have been omitted by *Josephus*, who has

writ the history of the *Jews*, and particularly of the reign of *Herod*.

To this I answer : 1. This appears to me to be at the best an objection of a very extraordinary nature. The most exact and diligent historians have omitted many events, that happened within the compasse of those times, of which they undertook to write. Nor does the reputation, which any one historian has for exactnesse, invalidate the credit of another, who seems to be well informed of the facts he relates. *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and *Dio Cassius*, have all three written of the reign of *Tiberius* : but it is no objection against the veracity of any one of them, that he has mentioned some things of that Emperour, which have been omitted by the rest. No more is it any objection against *St. Matthew*, that he has related an action of *Herod*, not mentioned by *Josepbus*.

2. There have been as great cruelties committed by many eastern Princes : nor was there ever any man more likely than *Herod* to give the orders here mentioned by *St. Matthew*. When he had gained possession of *Jerusalem* (a) by the assistance of

(a) *Jos. Ant. l. xiv. c. 16. §. ult.*

the

the *Romans*, and his rival *Antigonus* was taken prisoner, and in the hands of the *Roman* General *Sofius*, and by him carried to *Mark Antony*, *Herod* by a large sum of money persuaded *Antony* to put him to death. *Herod's* great fear was, that *Antigonus* might some time revive his pretensions, as being of the *Asmonean* family. *Aristobulus*, brother of his wife *Mariamne*, was murdered (b) by his directions at eighteen years of age, because the people at *Jerusalem* had shewn some affection for his person. In the seventh year of his reign from the death of *Antigonus*, he put to death *Hyrchanus*, grandfather of *Mariamne*, then eighty years of age, and who had saved *Herod's* life when he was prosecuted by the Sanhedrim; a man, who in his youth, and in the vigour of his life, and in all the revolutions of his fortune, had shewn a mild and peaceable disposition (c). His beloved wife, the beautiful and virtuous *Mariamne*, had a public execution (d), and her mother *Alexandra* was put to death soon after (e). *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, his

(b) *Antiq.* 15. c. 3. §. 3. *De Bell.* l. i. c. 22.

(c) *Ant.* 15. c. 6. *de Bell.* ubi supra.

(d) *Ant.* 15. c. 7. §. 5. 6.

(e) *Ib.* §. 8.

two sons by *Mariamne*, were strangled in prison by his order (*f*) upon groundlesse suspicions, as it seems; when they were at man's estate, were married and had children. I say nothing of the death of his eldest son *Antipater*. If *Josephus's* character of him be just, he was a miscreant, and deserved the worst death that could be inflicted.

In his last sickness, a little before he died, he sent orders throughout *Judea*, requiring the presence of all the chief men of the nation at *Jericho*. His orders were obeyed, for they were enforced with no less penalty than that of death. When these men were come to *Jericho*, he had them all shut up in the *Circus*; and calling for his sister *Salome*, and her husband *Alexas*, he told them: "My life is now but short. I know the dispositions of the *Jewish* people, and nothing will please them more than my death. You have (*g*) these men in your custody. As soon as the breath is out of my body, and before my death can be known, do you let in the soldiers upon them and kill

(*f*) *Antiq.* 16. c. 11. §. 6. *de B. l. i. c.* 27.

(*g*) Τὸς δὲ τοὺς φρουρούς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτάξας ἐκκλίσαι, τάχιστα αἰνῶσι περιστάσεις τὴν σφαίραν, ἵνα πάντα Ἰουδαῖα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπὸ ἐμῶν δακτύλου *de Bell. i. c.* 33. §. 6.

D d d

" them.

“ them. All *Judea* and every family will
 “ then, though unwillingly, mourn at my
 “ death.” Nay, *Josephus* says, “ That
 “ with tears in his eyes he conjured them
 “ by their love to him and their fidelity to
 “ God, not to fail of doing him this honour:
 “ And they promised (*b*) they would not
 “ fail.”

These orders indeed were not executed.
 But, as a modern historian of very good
 sense observes, “ The (*i*) history of this his
 “ most wicked design takes off all objection
 “ against the truth of murdering the inno-
 “ cents, which may be made from the in-
 “ credibility of so barbarous and horrid an
 “ act. For this thoroughly shews, that
 “ there can nothing be imagined so cruel
 “ barbarous, and horrid, which this man
 “ was not capable of doing.”

It may be also proper to observe, that almost
 all the executions, which I have instances
 in, were sacrifices to his state jealousy, and
 love of empire. And the slaughter, which
St. Matthew has given an account of, was

(*b*) Καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ δακρύων ποτιώμενος, καὶ τῷ συγγενῶν
 ἱεροῖσι καὶ πρίν τῷ Θεῷ προσκαλῶν, ἐπίσκηπτι μὴ ἡτιμῶσθαι αὐ-
 τὸν καὶ οἱ ἀπολόγην ἢ παραβῆσθαι. *Antiq.* 17. c. vi. §. 5.

(*i*) *Prideaux Conn. Part ii. p. 655.*

made upon the occasion of tidings brought to *Jerusalem*, of the birth of one who was *King of the Jews*.

3. *Josephus* has given us an account of a terrible execution made in *Herod's* court, and at *Jerusalem*, about this very time, upon the occasion of some predictions, that God was about to take away the kingdom from *Herod*. I think, it was made at the very same time with the slaughter of the infants. St. *Matthew* relates only what was done at *Beth-lehem*, *Josephus* what happened at *Jerusalem*. The silence of *Josephus* about the former, and of St. *Matthew* about the later, may be in a good measure accounted for by these two or three considerations.

(1.) St. *Matthew* was not concerned to relate state matters, but barely to give the history of Jesus Christ; and therefore all that he was obliged to take notice of upon this occasion was the attempts made upon the life of Jesus. *Josephus's* is a political history of the *Jewish* nation, and therefore the executions at court might be more suitable to his design.

(2.) All writers of good sense and candour, who have writ the history of such jealous and cruel princes as *Herod*, have been obliged,

liged, both out of a regard to themselves, and their readers, to omit some of their odious and offensive actions, and to pass by some parts or circumstances of those transactions, which they mention (*k*). And I cannot help paying a particular respect to the Evangelists for the many instances of their candour and goodnesse, and for this in particular, that none of them strove to brand the memory of *Herod*, who sought the life of *Jesus*, with the many cruelties of his reign, or the dreadful circumstances of his death; and that *Matthew*, who alone has informed us of the murder of the infants, confined his narration to that, and passed by all the other tokens, which, I doubt not, *Herod* shewed at this time, of a most odious jealousy.

Nor would I blame *Josephus* barely for the omission of the barbarities committed at *Bethlehem*. He has related many cruel actions of *Herod*. To have related them all would probably have appeared spite and ill will, rather than faithfulness or impartiality.

(*k*) Neque sum ignarus, a plerisque scriptoribus omissionum pericula & poenas, dum copiâ fatiscunt, aut quia ipsis nimia & moesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur. *Tacit. An. l. 6. c. 7.*

It is evident, there were many put to death at *Jerusalem*, beside those he nameth in the account of that execution. Possibly the omission of the murder of the infants may be owing to those reasons I have here hinted, namely a fear of being charged with a design to load *Herod* unreasonably, or a fear of rendering his history disagreeable by too particular a detaile of cruel actions.

(3.) I have thus far endeavoured to account for *Josephus's* silence in the way of apology for him, and should be glad to leave the matter here: but his strange way of speaking, and that in two (A) places of his works, of an execution at *Jerusalem* about this time, though according to his own account and acknowledgement it was very severe and terrible, will not permit me to conclude here. Supposing then, that execution to have been made on account of discourses, which happened at *Jerusalem* upon the

(A) One of those passages with observations upon it may be seen above, p. 628. It is the passage I referred to, p. 290, &c. as deserving a particular attention. If the reader has not yet observed it, I would now recommend it to his perusal. The other passage will be found toward the later end of §. 1. of the next chapter to this. See in the index *Josephus, his account of a terrible execution at Jerusalem.*

rumour of the birth of Jesus, I think, that since *Josephus* was determined in the main to vindicate *Herod* upon that occasion, he was obliged for his own honour to say nothing of what was done at *Bethlehem*. The slaughter of the infants, from two years old and under, of a whole city, town, or village, and the district round about it, whatever colours an historian might have put upon it, would have appeared to all mankind, but prejudiced and hardened *Jews*, an horrid inhumanity.

In a word, the objection against this relation of St. *Matthew* must be founded on the silence of the *Greek* and *Roman* historians, or of *Josephus*. As for the silence of the former; the *Roman* Republic or Empire about this time was so vast, that the affairs of many dependent princes have been lost in the crowd. *Tacitus* goes over the history of the *Jews*, from *Pompey's* conquest of *Judea* to the government of *Felix*, mentioned in the *Acts*, in one short chapter. Of *Herod* he says: "The kingdom he received from "*Antonie* was enlarged [or confirmed] by "*Augustus*. And that after his death his "*kingdom* was divided between three of his
" sons."

“ sons (*k*)’ : Without so much as naming the sons of *Herod*, who arrived at sovereign power, and succeeded their father. *Strabo* says, “ *Herod* obtained the title of king first from *Antonie*, and then from *Augustus*. “ Some of his sons he put to death, as guilty “ of designs against himself: others he appointed his successors, dividing his kingdom among them. But his sons were “ not happy, for they fell under some accusations. One of them was banished into “ *Gaul*, and the other two by means of a “ great deal of submission with much difficulty kept their several tetrarchies (*l*).” He does not so much as name those sons, whom *Herod* killed, nor those that succeeded him. It is with a like brevity, that

(*k*) Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum, victor Augustus auxit [al. *sanxit*]. Post mortem Herodis, nihil expectato Caesare, Simon quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quintilio Varo obtinente Syriam punitus. Et gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. *Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 9.*

(*l*) Ἡρώδης—ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐχημάτισε, δόντος τὸ μὲν πρώτου Ἀντονίου τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Καίσαρος τῷ Σίχαρχῳ. τῶν δὲ υἱῶν τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε, ὡς ἐπιβουλευσάντας αὐτῷ· τὰς δὲ τελευτῶν διαδόχους ἀπέλιπε, μερίδας αὐτοῖς ἀποδύς.—καὶ μὲν τοὶ εὐτύχησαν οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ’ ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ διέτιλετο, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόβοροις Γαλάταις λαβὼν οἴκησιν· οἱ δὲ θρασυαίᾳ πολλῇ μόλις εὐροῖο παράδοτον, τιτραρχίας ἀποδοῦναις ἱκατέρω. *Strabo. l. 16. p. 765. ed. Casaub.*

some other writers have mentioned *Herod*. *Dio Cassius*'s history of affairs about the later part of *Herod*'s reign is wanting. I leave it to any one to judge, whether it be reasonable to expect the particular fact at *Bethlehem* from historians, who plainly content themselves with delivering the successions of princes, without relating their affairs, or so much as recording all their names.

As for *Josephus*; his silence is no more an objection against *St. Matthew*, than the silence of other writers is against him. *Josephus* has said a great deal of *Herod*'s liberality to foreigners, to *Antioch*, *Berytus*, *Tyrus*, *Sidon*, *Damascus*, and many other cities in *Syria*; to the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Rhodians*, and other people of *Greece*. Of his benefaction to the *Eleans*, he says, "It was a common benefit not to *Greece* only but to all the world (*m*):" and "that he was so remarkable for his liberality, " that *Augustus* and *Agrippa* often said, *Herod*'s kingdom was too small for him, " and that he deserved to be King of all

(*m*) *Antiq. l. 16. c. 5. §. 3. 4 de Bell. l. 1. c. 21 §. 11. 12.*
Τὸ δὲ ἡλείοις χάρισθαι, ὃ μόνον κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης δῶρον. ibid. §. 12.

" *Syria*

“*Syria and Egypt* (n).” I suppose people take these things upon *Josephus*’s authority. I cannot conceive, how the single silence of *Josephus* (and of *Justus* of *Tiberias*, if you please to add him,) should be an objection against *St. Matthew*; when the silence of the *Greeks* and *Syrians*, people that abounded so much in writers, (several of which are also still in being,) is no objection against *Josephus*: who has recorded many things done by *Herod* for those people, of which they have made no mention, that we know of.

It has been pretended indeed, that *Josephus* was a great enemy to *Herod*, and seems willing to tell all his various acts of cruelty. But this is not certain. For *Herod*’s character in *Josephus* has a mixture of good and bad. He has related a great many things to his advantage, which can be verified by no other writers. *Herod* put to death every member of the *Jewish* great Council in *Hyr- canus*’s time, except *Hillel* and *Shammai*; yet *Josephus* mentions this very slightly (o).

(n) Καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀγρίππαν πολλάκις ἐπιτεῖν, ὡς ἀποδίδει τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἡρώδης τῆς ἑσθῆς ἐν αὐτῷ μεγαλοψυχίας. ἄξιον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ Συρίας ἀπάσης καὶ Αἰγύπτου τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐχειν. *Antiq.* l. 16. c. 5. §. 1.

(o) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 9. §. 4. xv. 1.

He even takes part with *Herod* against the *Pharisees* in an account of an execution made at *Jerusalem* in the later part of his reign. Though *Josephus* were an enemy to *Herod*, he might have inducements to shew him favour upon some occasions. *Agrippa* the younger was living, when *Josephus* wrote; and he had some acquaintance with him, and obligations to him (p). It was not for the honour of the *Jewish* nation, to make a mere monster of *Herod*, who had reigned over them between thirty and forty years. A particular recital of all *Herod's* cruelties could not but make the uneasiness of the *Jewish* people under the *Roman* government appear very unreasonable. They might be thought a strange people, who rebelled against the *Romans*, and yet had bore with a man who had spared neither young nor old; who had slaughtered all the members of their great council, and the innocent infants of a whole town and all its district. I have sometimes thought, that this was really one reason, why *Josephus* made so slight mention of the cutting off the members of that senate. It might also be some inducement not to relate the slaughter of the infants.

(p) *Joseph. vit.* §. 65.

But *Josephus*, as a firm Jew, had certainly a particular reason for passing over this event at *Bethlehem* : He could not mention it, without giving the *Christian* cause a great advantage. To write, that *Herod* at the later end of his reign had put to death all the young children at *Bethlehem*, on occasion of a report spread at *Jerusalem*, that the *King of the Jews* had been newly born there, would have greatly gratified the Christians; since it was well known, when he wrote, that about thirty years after the death of *Herod*, *Jesus*, being then about thirty years of age, had been stiled the *King of the Jews*, and had been publicly crucified at *Jerusalem* with that title ; and it was firmly believed by all his followers, that he was the great person spoken of under that character, and was now advanced to dominion and power.

Nay, I don't see how any serious and attentive Heathen, who had heard any thing of *Jesus*, could read a relation of this event in *Josephus*, a *Jewish* historian, known to be no favourer of those called *Christians*, but he must be disposed to think, the *Christian* belief deserved some consideration. For if there was a report spread at *Jerusalem*, the capital city of *Judea*, that the *King of the Jews*

Jews had been newly born ; and if this report was so far credited, that *Herod*, notwithstanding his numerous issue, thought it needful to make away with all the young children at *Bethlehem*, and it's borders, in order to secure the succession in his own family : this is at once a strong argument, that the *Jewish* expectation of a great person to arise from among them is no new thing, and that there were some reasons to think, that great person had been born at that time. Moreover, he must also suppose it possible, that the child, whose life was aimed at, escaped, notwithstanding the care of *Herod*. For it is plain, he did not certainly know the child, of whom the discourse was : if he had, he would not have given orders for destroying all the young children under such an age.

The more any Heathen knew of the *Jewish* expectations, or of the story of *Jesus*, either by hearsay from the *Christians*, or by having looked into any of the Gospels, the more would he have remarked such a relation in this historian.

For this reason *Josephus* could by no means be willing to relate this event, with it's most peculiar circumstances ; though I think

Chap. ii. of *Josephus* considered. 761

think he has given a general account of *Herod's* cruelty at that time, as I have sufficiently shewn already.

4. *St. Matthew's* account is confirmed by the testimony of ancient Christian authors. I give one passage from *Justin Martyr*, who wrote before the middle of the second century.

“ But, says he, *Herod*, when the *Arabian*
 “ wise men did not come back to him as
 “ he had desired them, but according to a
 “ command given them returned by another
 “ way into their own countrey; and when
 “ *Joseph* together with *Mary* and the young
 “ child were gone into *Egypt*, according to
 “ directions given to them also by a divine
 “ revelation, not knowing the child whom
 “ the wise men had come to worship, com-
 “ manded all the children in *Bethlehem*,
 “ without exception, to be killed (q). This
 “ was prophesied of by *Jeremiah*, the spirit
 “ of God saying by him thus: *A voice was*
 “ *heard in Rama.*’——

This event is also mentioned by (r) *Ire-
 næus* who lived in the same century; and by
Origen

(q) Πάντας ἀπλῶς τὰς παῖδας τὰς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκίλευσιν ἀναι-
 ρεῖσθαι. *Dialog. Part ii. p. 304. Paris. (p. 307. Thilb.)*

(r) Propter hoc & pueros eripiebat, qui erant in domo
David, bene sortiti in illo tempore nasci, ut eos praemitteret
 in

Origen (s) in the third century, in his answer to *Celsus*, where he says: “*Herod* put to death all the little children in *Bethlehem* and it’s borders, with a design to destroy the *King of the Jews*, who had been born there.” It is needless to make any more quotations of *Christian* (t) writers.

There is also a noted passage in *Macrobius*, a Heathen author, who flourished in the later end of the fourth century, who among other jests of *Augustus* has this. “When he [Augustus] had heard that among the children within two years of age, which *Herod King of the Jews* commanded to be slain in *Syria*, his own son had been killed, he said: *It is better to be Herod’s hog than his son* (u).”

in suum regnum; ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum, qui in Bethlehem natus est Judae, in civitate David, interfectos secundum scripturas. *Contra Haer.* l. iii. c. 16. §. 4. *al.* c. 17. In qua [Ægypto] & dominus noster servatus est, effugiens eam persecutionem quae erat ab Herode. *ibid.* c. 21. §. 3. *al.* c. 28.

(s) Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἀνέλε πάντα τὰ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς παῖδια, ὡς συναναίρησιν τὸν γεννηθέντα Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα, l. i. p. 47.

(t) *Vid. Euseb. Hist. Ec.* l. i. c. 8. *P. Oros.* l. vii. c. 3. *Ec. Ec.*

(u) Cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judaeorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum; ait, *Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium.* *Macrobi. Sat. lib. ii. c. 4.*

I lay little or no stress upon this passage, partly because it comes too late, partly because there is reason to suppose, *Macrobius* has been mistaken about the occasion of the jest. No early Christian writers have said any thing of *Herod's* having had a young child of his own killed in the slaughter at *Bethlehem*. If *Augustus* did pass this jest upon *Herod*, it might be occasioned by the death of *Antipater*, or rather of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* (x).

This is what I said of this passage in the first edition: I would now add: It ought to be allowed, that *Augustus* did pass this jest upon *Herod*, upon some occasion or other, and that *Macrobius* has given us exactly the words of the jest. This passage also shews, that *Herod's* slaughter of the infants in *Judea* was a thing well known in *Macrobius's* time, and was not contested by Heathens.

If we could be assured, that *Macrobius* transcribed this whole passage, not only the jest it self, but the occasion of it likewise, from some more ancient author; it would be a proof, that this event was well known in that author's time also. And we should

(x) See *Whitby's Annot. on Matth. ii. 16. 17.*

have

have a great deal of reason to suppose, that author was a Heathen; because it is most likely, that *Macrobius*, a bigoted Heathen himself (y), did not much deal in Christian writers.

But it is possible, that *Macrobius* found only the jest in his author, and added the occasion, having collected it from the common discourse of the Christians of his time, who frequently spoke of this cruel action of *Herod*. There is some reason to suspect this, because it is very likely, that *Augustus*'s reflexion upon *Herod* was occasioned by the death of one of those sons, whom *Josephus* has mentioned; and that it has no relation at all to the slaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem*. This suspicion may be farther strengthened by the great agreement of *Macrobius* with *St. Matthew*, in the words he uses concerning the children (z). *Macrobius* being ignorant of *Herod*'s story, and having heard of the slaughter of the infants, when he met with this jest in some author, conclud-

(y) This is very evident from his works. And the reader may see a full proof of it in the *Rev. Mr. Maffon's* slaughter of the children in *Bethlehem*, as an historical fact, vindicated. §. 3.

(z) Children within two years of age, which *Herod King of the Jews* commanded to be slain.

ed there had been some young child of *Herod* put to death together with them.

I am content therefore to leave it a doubtful point, whether *Macrobius* transcribed this whole passage, or the jest only, from some more ancient author.

Upon the whole then, there lies no objection against this relation of St. *Matthew*. There is nothing improbable in the thing it self, considering the jealous, cruel temper of *Herod*. The silence of *Josephus*, or of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* historians, can be no difficulty with any reasonable person. This fact is confirmed by the express testimony of very early Christian writers, and by *Macrobius*, a Heathen author, in the later end of the fourth century; from whom it appears, that this event was not then contested, and that it was even better known, than the fate of those sons of *Herod*, whom *Josephus* says he put to death at man's estate.

§. II. An objection, of the like sort with that we have been considering, may be made against St. *Luke*, who says; *There* Luke xiii. 1.
were present at that season, some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had
E e e mingled

mingled with their sacrifices. It has been thought strange by some, that *Josephus* has made no mention of this event.

In answer to this objection, I shall transcribe a passage of *Josephus*. “*Judas the Galilean* introduced a fourth sect among the *Jews*. In all other things they agree with the *Pharisees*, but they have an invincible love of liberty, and acknowledge God alone their lord and governour. Nor can any kind of death, or any punishments of their friends and relations, make them call any man lord. As many have been witnesses of their immovable firmness, I shall say no more upon this head: not out of a fear, lest my accounts should be thought incredible, but rather because it is not easy fully to represent their contempt of all kinds of sufferings (a).”

Perhaps, the *Galileans* mentioned by *St. Luke*, were some of the followers of the before mentioned *Judas*. *Josephus* says, he has omitted the greatest part of the sufferings of that sect. I think, it is not diffi-

(a) Οὐ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑποληφθῇ τι τῶν λεγομένων ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, τέναντίον δὲ μὴ ἐλασσόνως τῇ ἐκείνων κατὰ φρονέματός, δεχομένην τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ λόγος ἀφ’ ἧται. *Antiq. l. 18. c. 1. §. 6.*

cult to gueſſe the reaſon. *Judas's* principles were very popular among the *Jews*, but in the opinion of the *Romans* they were criminal, as being inconſiſtent with ſubjection to their government. And it was next to impoſſible, for *Josephus* to give a particular account of all tranſactions in *Judea* relating to this matter, without offending the *Jews*, his countreymen, on the one hand, or the *Romans* on the other.

But whether the *Galileans* in *St. Luke* were men of this principle, is not certain; nor is it material. For though they were not, the paſſage juſt tranſcribed from *Josephus* may ſatisfy us, that many remarkable events have been omitted by him upon ſome account or other.





C H A P. III.

An objection against the fifteenth year
of the reign of Tiberius compared
with the age of Jesus at his Baptism.

- I. *The Objection stated.* II. *The first solution: That St. Luke, by the fifteenth of Tiberius, might intend the fifteenth of his Proconsular power, not of his sole Empire after the death of Augustus.*
 III. *The consistence of other notes of time in the Gospels with this supposition.*
 IV. *The second solution: That the age of thirty years ascribed to Jesus at his baptism may be understood with latitude.*

Luke iii. 1.
2.



T. Luke says: Now in the FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS CESAR, Pontius Pilate being governour of Judea, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.—Now when all the people were baptized, it came to passe, that Jesus

also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened : And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well-pleased. And Jesus himself——BEGAN TO BE ver. 21.
ABOUT THIRTY YEARS OF AGE.

Against this account of St. *Luke* this objection may be formed. St. *Matthew* says expressly, that Jesus was born in *Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king*. Though Jesus was born but a month or two before the death of *Herod*, he would be at least thirty one years of age at his baptism. But if Jesus was born above a year, much more, if above two years before *Herod's* death ; then the age of *thirty years* here ascribed to him at his baptism is absolutely inconsistent with the notes of time, mentioned at the commencement of *John the Baptist's* ministry : even allowing, that the word of God came to *John* in the very beginning of the *fifteenth year of Tiberius*, and that Jesus was baptized a few months after.

Before I state this objection at length, I would observe, that the true genuine meaning of these words, *Jesus himself (a) began*

(a) Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, ὦν, κ. λ.

to be about thirty years of age, is not that he then entered the thirtieth year of his age; but that Jesus was about thirty years of age, when he began his ministry; or, *when* (b) he thus began to shew himself publicly. This, I think, is now the general opinion of learned (c) men. So the Greek word of this text is used by St. Luke in other places. Thus the High Priests and others charge Jesus before Pilate, saying, *He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, BEGINNING* [ἀρχάμεν & having begun] *from Galilee to this place.* St. Peter, in the debate concerning the choice of an Apostle in the room of Judas says: *Wherefore of these men, which have accompanied with us ALL THE TIME that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, BEGINNING from the baptism* (d) *of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.*

Luke xxiii.
5.

Acts i. 21.
22.

(b) Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase.

(c) Lucae mentem Jansenius [Conc. cap. 14.] optimè affectus est, quam sic exprimit: *Sensus erit, & ipse Jesus natus fere triginta annorum, cum jam suscepto baptismo auspicaretur deinde munus suum.* Bas. Ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. D. 5. n. 28. vid. Anton. Cappell. de coenâ Christi supremâ. Sect. 12. c. 23. N. Whiston's short view of the harmony, &c. p. 136.

(d) Ἐν ᾧ ἰσχυροῦς καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἀρχάμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ Ἰωάννου.

I come now to the objection: *Augustus* died, and *Tiberius* succeeded him the 19th of *August*, A. U. 767, *Julian* year 59, A. D. 14. Therefore the fifteenth of *Tiberius* began the 19th *Aug.* A. U. 781, A. D. 28. *Herod* died (A) before the Passover in A. U. 750, *Jul.* year 42, or else before the Passover in A. U. 751, *Jul.* year 43. If then *John the Baptist* began to preach in the beginning of the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, in the later end of A. U. 781, and Jesus be supposed to have been baptized by *John* a few months after, on the 6th of *January* of the year following, viz. A. U. 782; Jesus must have been in the 32d year of his life, if *Herod* died in the Spring, A. U. 751, and if Jesus was born the 25th *Decemb.* preceding, viz. A. U. 750. But if *Herod* died A. U. 750, and Jesus was born the 25th *Decemb.* before, viz. A. U. 749, then he would be at his baptism in the 33d year of his age.

But it may be made appear several ways, that Jesus was born above a year, probably above two years before *Herod* died.

I. This may be inferred from the Evangelists themselves. For it is very probable,

(A) See the Appendix.

E e e 4

that

Matth. ii.
13. 14.

that *Herod* lived a year or more after the murder of the infants. The wise men having worshiped *Jesus*, when they were departed, *Behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, AND BE THOU THERE UNTIL I BRING THEE WORD: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt. And was there UNTIL THE DEATH OF HEROD.* The direction given to *Joseph* by the angel, may afford ground to suppose, that *Joseph* was to make some stay in *Egypt*, at least some months, or more than a few weeks or days: which, from what follows, appears to have been, *till the death of Herod.*

ver. 19. 20.

Moreover, *St. Matthew* says, that *when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream in Egypt, saying, Arise, take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: FOR THEY ARE DEAD WHICH SOUGHT THE YOUNG CHILD'S LIFE.*

It being known from *Josephus*, that *Antipater* died but five days before his father *Herod*; it may be inferred from the use of the

the

the plural number, that *Antipater* is meant by the angel as well as *Herod*, and that he had been concerned in the design to put Jesus to death, and that his cruel intentions were one cause of *Joseph's* removal out of *Judea* into *Egypt*. But *Antipater* could have no influence on his father's counsels for ten months or more before *Herod* died, as will appear presently: therefore the murder of the infants happened, most probably, a year before the death of *Herod*.

It may likewise be concluded from St. *Matthew's* account, that Jesus was born near two years before the murder of the infants. For thus he says: *Now when Jesus was born* Matt. iii. 1. *in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod² the king: Behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. Then Herod, when he had* ver. 7. *privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently, what time the star appeared.*

The wise men having been to worship the child, and departing into their own country without coming back to Jerusalem; Then Herod, when he saw that he was mock- ver. 16. *ed of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and*

and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.

Jesus was born before the wise men came, for their question was : *Where is he that is born ?* They knew he was born, because they had seen his star in the east. *Herod* enquired what time the star appeared, and slew all the children from two years and under, according to that time. Therefore the star had appeared two years before, and Jesus was born at or near that time.

Nor can the supposed distance between the appearing of the star and the arrival of the wise men weaken this calculation. There might be many reasons to hinder their undertaking the journey immediately : Possibly, they apprehended no necessity of setting out sooner. For allowing the truth of the fact, that they had seen a star, by which they understood the birth of a king in *Ju-dea* ; they could not well make any doubt of his living, or of their having an opportunity to worship him, though they delayed a year or two. But, whatever were the reasons of their delay, we have no right to de-
part

part from the words of *St. Matthew*; who intimates very plainly, that it was *two years* from the appearing of the star to the time in which *Herod* ordered the children to be slain.

Add these two years to the forementioned year, which *Herod* lived after the slaughter of the children; and it will appear, that according to *St. Matthew*, *Jesus* was born three years before *Herod's* death.

2. It may be proved from *Tertullian*, that *Jesus* was born above two years before the death of *Herod*: for he says, that the census or tax made in *Judea*, at the time of which *Jesus* was born, was made (e) by *Sentius Saturninus*. But *Josephus* assures us, that *Quintilius Varus* was come into *Syria* as successor to *Saturninus*, before (f) the death of *Herod*. It may not be easy to determine exactly from *Josephus* the time of *Varus's* arrival in *Syria*: But there are in being some ancient coins (g) or medals of the city of *Antioch*,

(e) *Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19. See above, p. 739.*

(f) *Antiq. xvii. c. 5. §. 2. & alibi.*

(g) *Scripsit ad me Card. Norisius, extare in Scrinio illustrissimi Marchionis Riccardi nummum minimae magnitudinis caput Jovis in antica repraesentantem, in cujus posticâ habetur, ΕΠΙ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, mulier sedens pede super figuram*

Antioch, the capital of that province, that demonstrate the time of his government. One of these coins has on the reverse a figure representing the city of *Antioch*, and the name of *Varus* with a date in *Greek* numerals, xxv. And there are others with the same figure and inscription, with the numerals xxvi. xxvii. The first of these coins assures us, that *Varus* was in *Syria* before *September*, A. U. 748. For the Aera which the *Antiochians* used at that time was that of the *Actiac* Victory, which was obtained A. U. 723. (b). The 25th year of this Aera ended the second of *Sept.* A. U. 748. It is therefore manifest, that *Jesus* was born before *September* in that year, if *Saturninus* made the census of which *St. Luke* speaks, or if it was made in his time. And if it be supposed, that *Jesus* was born

figuram Orontis fluminis, tenens dextrâ palmam : & in medio EK. id est. Anno xxv. *Pagi Appar. ad Bar. n. 136. vid. omnino. Noris. Epoch. Syromaced. Dissert. 3. c. 7. & Memoires de l'Academie des Inscris. Tom. 4. p. 181. ed. Amst.*

(b) *Allix* supposes, that the *Antiochian* Aera of the *Actiac* Victory does not begin till A. U. 724. *Vid. Dissert. de J. C. Anno & Mense natali. p. 102.* It is not my business to enter into dispute upon this head. The other opinion seems to me most probable. *vid. Noris. ubi supra. Pagi Appar. n. 103.*
104.

on the 25th day of *December*, then his nativity must necessarily be placed as far back as the 25th *Decemb.* A. U. 747.

3. I expect likewise to be here reminded of some things advanced by me in the first chapter of this book: and that it will be urged: If the oath which *Josephus* says was taken by all the *Jews* to *Augustus* and *Herod*, relate to the census or enrolment which *St. Luke* speaks of, then *Jesus* must have been born about three years before the death of *Herod*.

Possibly the objection may be stated in this manner:

It cannot be less than ten months from the commencement of the enquiries made by *Herod* into the cause of *Pheroras's* death and the crimes of *Antipater* to the death of *Herod*. When the first discoveries were made, *Antipater* was at *Rome*. *Herod* sent for him in a very pressing but kind manner, dissembling all suspicions concerning him, that he might not delay to return to *Judea*. *Josephus* says, that when *Antipater* returned, he knew nothing of the accusations, which had been brought against him, though (i) seven months had then passed

(i) Καί τοι μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διελθόντος ἰσχυρὰ μηνῶν. *De Bell. lib. 1. c. 31. p. 1034. v. 27.*

from the first discoverie of his crimes. In a day or two after *Antipater's* return to *Judea*, *Herod* calls a council, in which (k) he himself and *Varus*, Governour of *Syria*, presided. *Antipater* is brought before them, convicted, and remanded to prison. But *Herod* not daring to pronounce sentence on *Antipater* without leave from *Augustus*, expresses were sent to *Rome* with an account of what had passed. After that these messengers were sent away from *Judea*, a letter was intercepted, which was written to *Antipater* by *Acme* a Jewish woman at *Rome* in the service of the Empreſſe *Livia*, in which letter were fresh proofs of *Antipater's* designs. Hereupon *Herod* sent away fresh dispatches to *Rome*. These return to *Judea*, and bring word, that *Acme* had been put to death by *Augustus*, and that the Emperour left it to *Herod* to do with *Antipater* as he thought fit. Soon after this, *Antipater* was put to death, and in five days after *Herod* died (l).

As there was a second ambassie sent to *Rome* after the trial of *Antipater*, and this returned before *Herod* died, with an account

(k) *Ibid.* cap. 32.

(l) *Vid.* *Jos. de Bell.* l. i. c. 30,—33. *Ant.* l. xvii. c. 3,—8.
that

that *Acme* had been put to death, upon informations they had carried with them to *Rome*; it is impossible to assign less than three months for the interval between the arrival of *Antipater* in *Judea*, and *Herod's* death, which added to the former *seven* make *ten* months.

It being supposed in the first chapter, that the execution, which *Herod* made in his own family, happened at the same time with the slaughter of the children at *Beth-lehem*; it must next be considered, how long time that execution preceded the first enquiries into *Antipater's* designs. The facts mentioned by *Josephus* in this interval stand thus.

Herod having put to death several of his courtiers and servants, calls his friends together, charges *Pheroras's* wife with creating disturbances, and insists upon it that *Pheroras* put her away. *Pheroras* loving his wife too well to comply with this demand, the two brothers fall out. *Pheroras* leaves *Herod*, and goes to his Tetrarchy, withal swearing solemnly never to come to *Herod* more. About this time, as it seems, *Antipater*, with his father's consent, left *Judea*, and went to *Rome*. Soon after *Pheroras*

roras was gone home, *Herod* fell sick. But though *Herod* sent for *Pheroras*, he would not come to him. Not long after, *Pheroras* is sick; *Herod* goes to see him, they are reconciled, *Pheroras* dies. *Herod* has him brought to *Jerusalem* and buried there (m).

When *Pheroras* was buried, some of his servants made applications to *Herod*, desiring him to enquire into the manner and causes of *Pheroras*'s death. These enquiries open a horrid scene of wickedness. And it appears, that a conspiracy had been formed by *Antipater* to poison his father *Herod*; and that he had committed the execution of this design to *Pheroras*, and servants of his own, whom he had left behind him when he went to *Rome*, and who were to obey *Pheroras*'s directions (n).

It will not be easie to allot less than three months for the facts just now mentioned in the interval between the execution in *Herod*'s family and the first enquiries into the cause of *Pheroras*'s death. Three months added to the former *ten* make *thirteen*.

(m) *Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 29. §. 4. Ant. xvii. cap. 3.*

(n) *De Bell. ibid. cap. 30. Ant. ibid. 4.*

The execution spoken of by *Josephus*, and the slaughter of the children mentioned by *St. Matthew*, being allowed to have happened both at the same time, the interval between the birth of *Jesus* and this execution is already computed. It cannot be less than a year and nine or ten months, that is, near two years; consequently, we have a fresh argument that *Jesus* was born *three* years before the death of *Herod*. But how inconsistent this is with *Jesus* being *about thirty years of age* in the *fifteenth* year of *Tiberius*, appears from what has been said already.

Having now stated these objections, and given them their full force, as I imagine; before I proceed to offer a reply, I would make two or three reflexions upon some particulars contained in them.

I do allow that it appears to me highly probable, that *Herod* did live a year at least after the slaughter of the infants.

But as for *Tertullian's* testimony, that the tax in *Judea* was made by *Saturninus*, I think it is not of much weight; since he is the only person that has said this, and he flourished not till about two hundred years after the event. Besides, though *Tertullian*

was well skilled in the Roman lawes and customs, he has committed many gross blunders in history. The reader may see several of them collected by (o) *Dodwell* in his *Dissertations upon Ireneus*. One of them is the computation, *Tertullian* has made of the time from the nativity of Jesus to the taking of *Jerusalem* (p) by *Vespasian*; which, according to him, was not full fifty three years. And in reckoning up the reigns of the several Emperours he has quite omitted that of *Claudius*, and allotted not quite ten years to the reign of *Nero*. He, who could make such mistakes in the history of the Roman Emperours, might very easily be ignorant who was President of *Syria* at the time of our Saviour's nativity.

Nor am I satisfied with the proofs offered in these objections, that Jesus was born two years before the slaughter of the children at *Bethlehem*. *Whitby* (q) questions whether *πρὸ διεῖξς καὶ καὶ ὡς ἑρῶ* should not be rendered from *one year old* and under, rather than from *two years old* and under. But let *διεῖξς* signifie two years, yet I think no conclusion

(o) *Dissert. iii. §. 13.*

(p) *Vid. Tertul. advers. Jud. cap. 8.*

(b) *Matth. ii. 16.*

can be made about the precise time of the birth of Jesus from *Herod's* orders. It is most likely, that this star appeared some time before the birth of Jesus, and that it was understood by the Wise Men to prefigure it. Hereby they were prepared for their journey, and it is highly probable that these Wise Men came into *Judea* to worship this King, as soon as they could, after they concluded he was born, and that they arrived at *Jerusalem* in a very few months after his birth. But since their enquiry was: *Where is he that is BORN King of the Jews?* *Herod*, whose cruelty had in a manner no bounds, orders all children near *Bethlehem* to be slain who had been born since the appearing of the star; or perhaps even for some space (*r*) before the time, at which, after an exact enquiry of the wise men, he perceived it had appeared.

As there appears not any proof from *St. Matthew*, that Jesus was born two years, or near two years before the slaughter of the infants; so, I think also, that there are no proofs in *Josephus* that the oath taken by the

(*r*) Neque vero sequitur, si Herodes, omni modo cavens ne puer elaberetur, latius saevitiam extendit, non minus in aetate quam loci ratione, ideo stellam quoque tanto ante apparuisse. *Grot. ad Mat. ii. 1.*

Jews had preceded two years, or near two years, the execution made in *Herod's* court. The oath and the execution are related by *Josephus* both together. The reader is referred to that passage, as also to the charge brought against *Pheroras's* wife immediately after that execution was over. Among other things in that charge *Herod* says,—*That she did all she could to create a difference between him and his brother; that the fine imposed upon the Pharisees, had been evaded by her means; and that in the present affair nothing had been done without her.* This present affair I suppose to relate to the predictions given out by the Pharisees, that God would take away the kingdom from *Herod* and his children. The payment of the fine is the last crime she is charged with before this affair, which had preceded the execution. It certainly therefore is not a crime of two years standing. *Herod* in so long a time might have found out some new fault in a woman, he was so much offended with. We may be pretty well assured from this account, if I mistake not, that this oath had preceded the said execution and predictions but some few months only.

Supposing then the execution to be truly dated, in the objection, at about thirteen months before the death of *Herod*, we may infer, that the *Oath* in *Josephus*, and the *Description* in *St. Luke* was made, and that *Jesus* was born about a year and six or seven months before *Herod's* death.

If indeed *Antipater* had been at *Rome* two years before he was recalled by his father, as some learned men have thought, then this execution must have been made above thirteen months before *Herod's* death; because it is likely, or rather certain, that *Antipater* was in *Judea* at the time of that execution. But I think it is a mistake, to suppose he had been so long out of *Judea*. *Antipater* stayed some time in *Judea*, after his brothers *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* were (*s*) dead; and took a great deal of pains to defeat and set aside the advantageous marriages, which *Herod* designed for their children. He also entered into cabals with *Pheroras* and his wife, in order to secure the succession for himself. Moreover, *Saturninus* was got to *Rome* a good while before *Antipater* went from home. *Josephus* says in his *Antiquities*, that *Antipater* hav-

(*s*) *Antiq. xvii. cap. 1.*

ing resolved, if possible, to hasten his father's death, and being desirous to strengthen and secure his own interest, that he might reign after him; " He remitted large sums of " money to his father's friends at *Rome*, that " he might gain their good will, but espe- " cially that he might have the favour of " *Saturninus* the Governour of *Syria* (t)." *Saturninus* is not here called governour of *Syria*, because he was then actually in that post, for he is manifestly at *Rome*; but to distinguish him from others of that name, of which there were many. And it appears from the parallel place in the *War of the Jews*, that one favour which *Antipater* desired of these persons at *Rome*, who had influence on his father, was, that they would write to *Herod* that his [*Antipater's*] presence at *Rome* would be serviceable to him in the present posture of affairs. *Antipater* had now settled all things with *Pheroras* for the poisoning of *Herod*, as soon as an opportunity offered. But *Antipater*, so long as he staid in *Judea*, could not forbear conversing with *Pheroras* and his wife, which was

(t) Καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλους ΠΟΜΠΑΙΣ μεγάλης δωρεῶν εὖνους καθιστάμενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σαλευρῖνον, τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἐπιμηλητήν. *ibid.* p. 750. v. 10.

extremely

extremely disagreeable to *Herod*. “ There-
 “ fore *Antipater* (u) contrived by the in-
 “ terest of friends at *Rome*, to procure leave
 “ for a voyage thither. These writing,
 “ that it would be very proper for *Antipater*
 “ to be sent to *Cesar* without delay; he
 “ [*Herod*] immediately sent him thither,
 “ having furnished him with a sumptuous
 “ equipage and large sums of money, giving
 “ him also his Will to carry with him to
 “ the Emperour.”

It is true, that after *Antipater*’s journey
 to *Rome*, mention is made of *Saturninus* as
 in *Syria*: But then it is, because *Josephus*
 relates a fact, that had happened before
Antipater went from *Judea*. *Josephus*,
 giving an account of what *Antipater* did at
Rome, mentions (x) some accomplices of
Syllaeus sent thither by *Saturninus* to answer
 for themselves. But this might have been
 done by *Saturninus* some time before.

Again, if *Antipater* had been two years
 out of *Judea*, *Herod*, who wanted plausible

(u) Πραγματεύεται, διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων, τὴν εἰς
 Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ. γραφάντων γὰρ ἐκείνων, δεῖν Ἀντίπα-
 τρον πεμφθῆναι διὰ χρόνου πρὸς Καίσαρα, ὃ δὲ ἔτι μιλλήσας ἐξέ-
 στωψε, κ. λ. *de B. l. 1. c. 29. §. 2.*

(x) *De B. ibid. §. 3. Ant. 17. c. 3. §. 2.*

reasons to induce him to return, could not have failed to have put this, of his long absence, into his letters, as a very cogent and unexceptionable argument, which yet he does not appear (y) to have done.

It may be farther argued, that *Antipater's* journey to *Rome* did not precede the death of *Herod* two years. The very commencement of the enquiries into the death of *Pheroras* could not be above ten months before the death of *Herod*, as has been shewn already. A great progress had been made in those examinations; *Doris*, *Antipater's* mother, had been detected and put out of (z) *Herod's* house; *Mariamne* the High Priest's daughter (a) was also put away, and her son struck out of a new Will *Herod* had made. “ When
 “ these things were doing, says *Josephus*,
 “ *Bathyllus*, *Antipater's* freedman, arrived
 “ from *Rome*. And being put to the
 “ question was discovered to have brought
 “ with him a fresh quantity of poyson to be
 “ given to his [*Antipater's*] mother and
 “ *Pheroras*, that if the former had failed to

(y) See the substance of these letters. *De B. l. 1. c. 31. §.*

3. *Ant. 17. c. 5. §. 1.*

(z) *Ant. 17. c. 4. §. 2.*

(a) *Ibid.*

“ dispatch

“ dispatch the King, they might try (*b*) this “ upon him.” Before *Antipater* had gone to *Rome*, he had provided (*c*) poyson for *Pheroras* to give his father. It is plain, that when *Bathyllus* was sent from *Rome*, *Antipater* did not know whether *Pheroras* had made any use of the first poyson or not, and that he had still a full confidence in him. But if *Antipater* had been gone from *Judea* two years, and had heard nothing of the effect of that poyson, such a delay would have created suspicions. Moreover, this second preparation appears to be sent to back the former ; so that we may be assured, we are to go backward, not years, but only some months for the true time of *Antipater*’s leaving *Judea*.

Once more, the first opening of the enquiries into the causes of *Pheroras*’s death has been laid at about ten months before the death of *Herod*. That *Antipater* was then but newly set out for *Rome*, may be inferred from hence. *Pheroras* being dead, *Herod* had him brought to *Jerusalem*,

(*b*) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπελεύθερος Ἀντιπάτρου παρῆν, καὶ βασιανισθεὶς εὐρίσκειται φάρμακον κομίζων τῇ τι αὐτῆ μητρὶ καὶ Φερώρα, ὥς εἰ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ἄπτοίλο τῷ βασιλέως, τότε γὰρ μελαχειρίζοιτο αὐτόν. *ibid.* §. 3. *de B.* 1. c. 31. §. 1.

(*c*) *Antiq. ib.* §. 3. *De Bell. ibid.* c. 30. §. 5.

honored

honored him with a funeral, and made great lamentations for him. “ This, *says Josephus*, “ was the begining of sorrow to *Antipater*, “ though (d) he was then sailed to *Rome*, “ God requiring of him the blood of his “ brothers. I shall give a particular relation of this whole affair, that it may be “ an admonition to all mankind to adhere “ to the practise of virtue.” If *Antipater* had been then any long time out of *Judea*, *Josephus* would have said, though he was then at *Rome*, or though he had been some time there. It is possible, *Antipater* might have been gone from home a month or two; but the phrase here used by *Josephus* seems to me to import, that there were not yet come to *Jerusalem* any tidings of *Antipater*’s arrival at *Rome*.

I hope it will be excused, that I have insisted so long upon this point. The supposition, that *Antipater* was gone to *Rome* before the removal of *Saturninus*, and two years or more before the death of *Herod*, has caused much confusion in the chronology of many learned men about this time.

(d) Καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ προσέβητο τῷτο Ἀντιπάτρει ὅ
τοίγχε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πεπλευκότι κακῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχή, τῆς ἀδελφοκτονί-
ας αὐτὸν τιθυμένῃ τῷ Θιβ. κ. λ. *Antiq.* 17. c. 3. §. 3.

There

There is in *Josephus* another passage, not yet observed by any one upon this occasion, that I know of, which may help to determine the time of the execution made by *Herod* in his court and at *Jerusalem*, and which will confirm my opinion about it. *Josephus*, having given the history of *Herod's* putting to death his two sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, makes divers reflections upon that action. “ It might have been sufficient, “ says he, (e) even supposing them guilty “ of the crimes laid to their charge, to have “ condemned them to perpetual imprison- “ ment, or to have banished them, but to “ take away their lives was a piece of down- “ right cruelty. Nor does the delay ex- “ tenuate the crime; for after deliberation, “ having been resolved at one time and in “ suspense at another, to commit such a fact, “ is an argument of a cruel disposition, and “ of a mind obstinately bent upon wicked- “ ness: Which same temper he shewed

(e) Ἐν ἐπιστάσει δὲ, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὀρμηθέντα πολλάκις δὲ μελ-
λήσαντα, τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ ὑποσῆναι καὶ διαπράξασθαι, φονῆς καὶ
δυσμετακινήτου ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων· ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκ
ἀποσχόμενος· ἔδδ' τῶν περιλοίπων ὅσας ἰδοὺ φιλάταται, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ
μὲν δίκαιον ἔλαττον ἐπώθει συμπάθεισθαι τῆς ἀπολλυμένης, το δὲ
ἀμὸν ὁμοιον ἦν, τῷ μηδὲ ἐκείνων φεισαμένῳ· διεξιμεν δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ἔξ' ἀφ' ἡρώμενοι· *Antiq.* 16. c. ult. ad fin.

“ after-

honored him with a funeral, and made great lamentations for him. “ This, *says Josephus*, “ was the begining of sorrow to *Antipater*, “ though (d) he was then failed to *Rome*, “ God requiring of him the blood of his “ brothers. I shall give a particular relation of this whole affair, that it may be “ an admonition to all mankind to adhere “ to the practise of virtue.” If *Antipater* had been then any long time out of *Judea*, *Josephus* would have said, though he was then at *Rome*, or though he had been some time there. It is possible, *Antipater* might have been gone from home a month or two; but the phrase here used by *Josephus* seems to me to import, that there were not yet come to *Jerusalem* any tidings of *Antipater*’s arrival at *Rome*.

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(e) Ἐν ἐπιστάσει δὲ, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὀρμηθέντα πολλάκις δὲ μετὰ λήσαντα, τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ ὑποστῆναι καὶ διαπραξάσθαι, φονῆς καὶ δυσμετακινήτης ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκ ἀποσχόμενος. ὅθεν τῶν περιλοίπων ὅσας ἰδοὺ φιλάτατος, ἐφ’ οἷς τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἔλαττον ἰσχύει συμπάδεισθαι τῆς ἀπολλυμένης, το δὲ αἰὲν ὁμοίον ἦν, τῷ μηδὲ ἐκείνων φεισαμένῳ· διεξίμεν δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξῆς ἀφηγούμενοι· *Antiq.* 16. c. ult. ad fin.

“ after-

“ afterwards upon another occasion, when
“ he spared not others, [or *the rest*] persons
“ who seemed to be the most dear to him
“ of any. The justice of their punishment
“ abates our compassion for their ruin, but
“ yet his cruelty was alike here also, in that
“ he spared not even them. But of these
“ more in course by and by.”

This last piece of cruelty I take to mean the execution made by *Herod* in his court, and which *Josephus* relates afterwards in the next book of these *Antiquities*. It cannot refer to the death of *Antipater*, because he is but one; nor to the design upon the *chief men of Judea* shut up in the *Circus*, because they had committed no offense, and that design was never executed; nor to the *Rabbies*, because they do not appear to have ever been dear to *Herod*. But it must be the before mentioned execution, of which I hope the reader has a clear idea. Then *Herod* put to death all of his own family, that adhered to the things said by the *Pharisees*, and other persons, who appear to have been favorites with him. And it is observable, that as in that account *Josephus* is pleased to divert himself with those executions; so, here also, even when he is aggravating the cruelty

cruelty of *Herod*, he betrays the same good will toward those who then suffered under the rage of this inhumane tyrant.

It would be desirable here to settle exactly the time, when these two sons of *Herod* were put to death. *Allix* (f) places the council of *Berytus*, before which they were tryed, and by which they were condemned in the month of *May*, A. U. 749, about ten months before *Herod* died. But if *Herod* died in the spring, A. U. 750, as *Allix* supposes, this council is certainly placed by him too late. It is evident from particulars insisted on in the objection, and since allowed, or mentioned by me, that it must have preceded the death of *Herod* above ten months. Moreover, *Saturninus* was one of this council, and if the first medal and the epoch above mentioned be allowed, *Saturninus* was gone from *Syria* before *Sept.* 748. It may be however supposed, I think, that this Council was not held long before the removal of *Saturninus*: And it is certain from the passage just transcribed, that the execution of the *Pharisees* and others at *Je-*

(f) —Conventum Berytensem qui habitus est in causa Alexandri & Aristobuli Maio mense A. U. 749. *ibid.* p. 18. *ibid.* etiam p. 13. & alibi.

rusalem happened some considerable time after the death of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*.

If any should object, that according to the account I have given of the *Oath* or Enrolment, that it was owing to the displeasure of *Augustus* against *Herod*, it cannot be placed so near the end of *Herod's* reign as I here suppose, but must have happened a considerable time before the removal of *Saturninus*; because *Augustus* appears to have been reconciled to *Herod* before *Saturninus* left the province, and before the council at *Berytus*, in which *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* were condemned: I answer, that the enrolment is not placed by me too late at all. It might be resolved upon by *Augustus* before, and yet not be executed till after *Saturninus* went away. And though *Augustus* might be in some measure pacified, yet he might think fit to have the assessment made. Besides, though *Josephus* says, that upon the applications, which *Nicolas* of *Damascus* had made to *Augustus* at *Rome*, the Emperour was reconciled to *Herod*; that *Syllaeus* was ordered home, required to pay the money he owed, and give all proper satisfaction, and was (g) afterwards

to

(g) Καὶ πέρας οὗτος χρόνος κατέστη Καῖσαρ, ὡς τῷ μὲν Συλλαίῳ
καταγ-

to be punished: Yet it is certain, that *Syllaeus* did not give *Herod*, or any one else, satisfaction. And it may be from thence inferred, that *Herod* was not fully reinstated in *Augustus*'s favour; for then *Syllaeus* would have been more submissive. *Josephus*, relating *Antipater*'s voyage to *Rome*, of which we have made frequent mention, says: "*Syllaeus* the *Arabian* (b) also went thither at the same time, not having performed any of those things which *Cesar* enjoined. And *Antipater* accused him to *Cesar* upon the same heads he had been before accused of by *Nicolas*." From what has been said concerning the time of *Antipater*'s journey, it appears, that this accusation must have been brought against *Syllaeus* in the last year of *Herod*'s life.

It is evident, that *Herod*'s affairs were not in a good posture at this time at *Rome*. If they had, *Antipater* could not have made the state of them, and the service he might

καταγνώσαι θάνατον, Ηρώδη δὲ διαλλάττεσθαι. — τὸ δὲ σύμπαν, ὃ μὲν Σύλλαϊ ἀνεπέμπετο, τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰ χρεῖα τοῖς διδανεικόσιν ἀποδώσων εἴτα οὕτω κολασθῆσόμενος. *Antiq.* 16. c. 10. §. 9.

(b) Συνεξορμᾷ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Σύλλαϊ ὁ Ἀραβὶς, μηδὲν ἂν προσέταξε Καῖσαρ διαπεπραγμένον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον αὐτῷ κατηγρεῖ ἐπὶ Καίσαρ, περὶ ὧν πρότερον Νικόλαος. *ib.* l. 17. c. 3. §. 2.

do his father there, a pretense for his journey. Moreover, *Antipater* (i) charged *Herod* with a sum of two hundred talents, laid out chiefly, as he pretended, in the cause against *Syllaeus*, his father's great enemy. From all which it is reasonable to conclude, that *Nicolas* had, in his history, out of regard to his master and himself, magnified the success of his negociations at *Rome*. Nor can it be justly expected from an historian, that when he comes down to the affairs of his own time, he should be perfectly indifferent toward those in which he acted a part himself.

Having now cleared the way, I would lay down two or three conclusions.

1. I apprehend it appears from what has been here offered, that there is no necessity of placing the birth of *Jesus* above a year and six months before the death of *Herod*. If *Herod* died in *March*, A. U. 750, I should be inclined to place the nativity of *Jesus* in *September* or *October*, A. U. 748. If *Herod* died in *March* 751, then the nativity of *Jesus* might very well be placed in *September* or *October* 749. As I am not

(i) Διακόσια γὰρ ἀναλώματα ἀνέβηκε τάλαντα, καὶ τέτοιον μεγίστην πρόφασιν ἦν ἡ πρὸς Συλλαῖον δίκη. *De B.* 1. c. 31. §. 2.
able

able fully to determine the time of *Herod's* death ; I shall for the future have some regard to both these dates of our Saviour's nativity.

2. The account that has been given above of the time of *Saturninus's* removal, and *Varus's* arrival in the province of *Syria*, does also incline us to one of these dates. It is not improbable, that the oath was taken, or the assessment made much about the same time that *Varus* came into *Syria*. And it is supposed by many learned men, that the Roman Governours usually came from *Rome* into these Eastern provinces at the later end of the summer. It is certain, that upon the removal of *Archelaus*, when *Cyrenius* came Governour into *Syria*, there was an assessment made in *Syria* and *Judea*. I am the rather inclined to think this the time of the Oath, because *Josephus* in his history does not relate when it was taken, but mentions it only upon occasion of a disturbance at *Jerusalem*, which had a connexion with it. And it is observable, that he has said nothing of *Varus*, nor of the concerns of *Syria*, till we hear of *Varus* being at *Jerusalem* when *Antipater* returned home. But, if those medals are to be relied on, *Varus*

G g g

had

had now been a good while in *Syria*. There is therefore in *Josephus* a long gap in the concerns of *Syria*, and also in the public concerns of *Judea*, from the council at *Berytus* to the execution at *Jerusalem*. During this time of *Josephus*'s silence, I suppose the assessment was made. According to the first of the *Antiochian* medals, *Varus* came into *Syria* before *Sept.* 748. If this be supposed the most likely date of his government, and if it be also most probable that *Herod* died A. U. 750, these may strongly dispose us to place the nativity of *Jesus* in *September* or *October* 748.

3. The later part of the summer, or the autumn season, seems to be the most likely time of the year for the birth of *Jesus*. There is no particular reason to determine us to the 25th of *December*. The very depth of winter is not a very proper season for a survey and assessment, when people are to enter themselves according to their tribes or families. The autumn, when harvest and vintage are over, is a time of general leisure. When *Jesus* was born at *Bethlehem*, there were in the same countrey shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night. In some very mild climates

Luke ii. 8.

climates sheep may be abroad in the night time in *December*. But it is not very likely, they should be so in those countreys, where they must be attended by shepherds. This circumstance is not very favorable to the supposition, that Jesus was born the 25th *Dec.* and we are at liberty to place it in autumn, a more likely season.

It is not improbable then, that Jesus might be born some time between the middle of *August* and the middle of *November*. *Cyrenius*, we may suppose, came into *Judea* at the time, or soon after the time that *Varus* came Governour into *Syria*, and published the decree of *Augustus*, requiring all people to enter themselves, their dependents, and estates. *Judea* was a countrey of a narrow compasse, and the assessment might very well be made in two or three months. *Cyrenius* coming into the countrey, and being a man of dispatch in all his undertakings; being desirous also to hasten to *Rome* to receive the honours decreed him for the victory over the *Homonadenses*; being also concerned to set sail before the bad weather came on, he appointed all people to enroll themselves with all expedition within a certain limited time, which they did accordingly.

v. 3.

ingly. *And all went to be taxed every one in his own city.* The short time appointed for this work may be fairly concluded from *St. Luke's* history of it. If the space of time allotted for it had been of any considerable length, it cannot be thought but that *Joseph* would have taken an opportunity to go to *Bethlehem* some while before the time of the Virgin's delivery, or else have deferred the journey till that was over. There is not the least hint, that this journey was taken just at this season, in obedience to a divine admonition. It is given us as the pure result of obedience to this decree of *Augustus*.

We will now lay together a few events of this time, in the order in which it may be supposed they happened.

About a year and six or seven months before the death of *Herod*, soon after the arrival of *Varus* in the province of *Syria*, in *August* or *September*, A. U. 748. or 749. *Julian* year 40. or 41. *Cyrenius*, [or some other person of eminence,] came into *Judea*, an assessment was made there, and in the time of it, *Jesus* was born at *Bethlehem*, in the month of *September* or *October*. After the term of forty days was expired, *Jesus* was

was presented in the temple at *Jerusalem*, and *Mary* made her offering according to the lawe. When these things were finished, they went from *Jerusalem*, and dwelt in some city of *Judea*, possibly at *Bethlehem*. In the year following, viz. A. U. 749, or 750, about the begining of *February*, came wise men from the east to *Jerusalem*, saying, *Where is he that is born king of the Jews?* They being guided by the star, which they had seen in the east, went and worshiped him. After their departure, the Virgin and the child *Jesus* being now fit for travelling, *Joseph* was admonished by an angel, to take the young child and his mother, and flee into *Egypt*, which he did. *Herod* soon perceiving from the wise men's not returning to him, that he had been mocked by them, and being much enraged thereat, sent forth and slew all the children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men. He also put to death at the same time divers *Pharisees*, and other persons at *Jerusalem*, some of his own family and attendents; who, being before in expectation of the coming of a great Prince, who was

to rise up from among them, and by the arrival of the wise men had been confirmed in the belief that this event was now at hand, expressed themselves in terms, which *Herod* and his son *Antipater* and their flatterers termed seditious. Immediately after these executions, *Pheroras's* wife was called to an account also, as being supposed to have entertained the same principles with these *Pharisees*, to whom she had lately shewn great favour in paying the fine imposed upon them for not entering themselves, nor taking the appointed oath in the time of the forementioned assésment. *Pheroras* not submitting to the orders given him by *Herod* in council to put away his wife, *Herod* and *Pheroras* fell out. Hereupon, in the later end of *February*, or beginning of *March*, the same year, *Pheroras* retires with his wife to his Tetrarchy. And *Antipater* having before this, by various practises, and particularly by (k) letters procured from *Rome*,

(k) The account of *Antipater's* sending letters and presents to *Rome* is *Antiq.* 17. c. 1. §. 1. of *Herod's* last quarrel with *Pheroras*, his forbidding *Antipater* to converse with *Pheroras*, or his wife ; of *Antipater's* journey to *Rome*, and *Pheroras's* retirement is *ibid.* c. 3. In the *War*, [l. 1. c. 29. §. 2.] *Antipater's* letters to *Rome*, and his journey, are mentioned together :

Rome, disposed his father to consent to his making a journey into *Italy*; and supposing, that by the execution now just over, all turbulent spirits had been awed, and that peace and quiet might ensue, set sail for *Rome*. In the later end of *April*, or the beginning of *May* following, *Pheroras* dies, is brought to *Jerusalem*, and buried. No sooner was the mourning for him over, but his servants apply to *Herod* to make enquiry into the causes of his death: and now in the middle of *May*, or soon after, the examinations into this matter began; and though *Antipater* was sailed from *Judea* for *Rome*, and got at a distance from the place, in which justice ought to be executed on him; and therefore, according to the ordinary course of things, it might have been supposed he was in safety: yet from this time the divine vengeance began to prepare itself against him, till at last it fell upon him for all his horrid crimes. The evidence was at first obscure and imperfect, but opened continually more and more. *Herod*, in his letters to *Antipa-*

ther: but as his journey is here also represented, as the effect of advice brought from *Rome*, it is supposed that these letters were sent by him some time before. And *Pheroras's* retirement is the thing next mentioned.

ter, dissembled his resentments, but earnestly pressed his return to *Judea*. About the middle of *December*, seven months after the first enquiry into the cause of *Pheroras*'s death, *Antipater* arrived at *Jerusalem*: And is tried before *Herod*, and *Varus* president of *Syria*, and condemned to death. *Herod* however, not daring to proceed to execute the sentence without express leave from *Augustus*, sent ambassadors to *Rome* with a full account of what had passed; and soon after, a second embassy, new evidence having been found after the departure of the former. These last ambassadors return to *Judea*, with full power from *Augustus*, about the middle of *March*, A. U. 750, or 751: soon after which *Antipater* was executed, and in five days after *Herod* himself died, about a year and five or six months after the birth of *Jesus*.

Upon the whole, I presume it appears, we lye under no necessity of dating the birth of *Jesus* before the later end of the year of *Rome* 748, or 749. We hereby in part abate the objection, as stated above; but still we have before us undoubtedly a very great difficulty. We will now enquire, what can be said to it.

§. II. 1. When St. *Luke* says, *Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,—the word of God came unto John*; he may intend some computation of the reign of *Tiberius*, different from that of his sole Empire after the death of *Augustus*. It is no unusual thing, for the reigns of princes to be computed from several dates. There were two computations of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign. For, as *Prideaux* observes, “*Nabopolassar*, King of *Babylon*, being old and infirm, took his son *Nebuchadnezzar* into partnership in the Empire, and sent him with an army into those parts. [*Syria and Palestine.*] And from hence the Jewish computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign begins.—But, according to the *Babylonians*, his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterwards. And both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them (l).” And there were two or three ways of computing the reign of (m) *Cyrus*.

(l) *Conn. Part. 1. p. 60.*

(m) *Marshall's Treatise of the 70 weeks, p. 44.*

But

But to come nearer to our time. There were many computations of the reign of (n) *Augustus*. Some computed the beginning of his reign from the year, in which *Julius Cæsar* was killed, as (o) *Josephus*, who says: *Augustus* reigned fifty seven years six months and odd days. Some from the year after, and reckoned his reign fifty six years. Others computed from the year, in which the victory was obtained at (p) *Actium*, and say, he reigned forty four years; others from the year after, as *Ptolemee* in his Canon, and *St. Clement* (q) of *Alexandria*, and give him only forty three years. And *Herod* reigned thirty four years from the death of *Antigonus*, thirty seven from the time he was declared King of *Judea* by the (r) Roman senate.

2. There seems to be very good reason to conclude from divers passages of the Roman

(n) *Vid. Petav. Rationarium Temp. Par. 2. l. 3. c. 15. Pagi. Appar. n. 66.—73, 103, 114.*

(o) *Antiq. 18. c. 2. §. 2. De Bell. 2. c. 9. §. 1.*

(p) *Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio, Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor & quadraginta solus Rempublicam tenuit. Sueton. in August. c. 8. vid. Dio l. 51.*

(q) *Strom. p. 339. A. Edit. Paris.*

(r) *Joseph. de B. 1. c. ult. §. 8. Antiq. 17. c. 8. §. 1.*

historians and the most ancient Christian writers, that there were two different computations of the begining of *Tiberius's* reign; one from the time he was made Collegue with *Augustus*, and the other from his sole Empire after the death of *Augustus*.

Several very learned men and very eminent chronologers (s) are of opinion, that St. *Luke* intends the former of these two computations. I shall give a brief account of the grounds there are for this supposition, taken chiefly from *Pagi*; who appears to have bestowed a great deal of pains upon this argument, and must be allowed to have treated it with great accuracy and judgement.

(1.) That *Augustus* did in part lay aside government some time before he died, may be inferred from the words of an uncertain author of a Panegyrick, in which, in the name of the City of *Rome* he dissuades *Maximianus Herculeus* from resigning the Empire. “Is it fit, says he, that you should “now give your self a discharge, and do “that so soon, which *Augustus* did not do till

(s) *Herwaertus in nova & vera chronologia* c. 248. *Usser. Ann.* A. M. 4015. *Joann. Cleric. Dissertatio de Ann. vitae Christi.* *Prideaux Conn. Part ii. Book 9. A. D. xii. Pagi Critic in Baron.* A. Chr. 11. 71. 117. 147.

“ after

“after the seventieth year of his age, and
“the fiftieth of (t) his reign?”

(2.) Several of the Roman historians have expressly mentioned *Tiberius's* being taken into partnership in the government with *Augustus*.

Velleius Paterculus, who lived in the reigns of these two Emperours, says, “that
“at the desire of *Augustus* there was a law
“passed by the Senate and People of *Rome*,
“that *Tiberius* might have equal power
“with him in all the provinces and (u)
“armies.” *Suetonius* says, “There was a law
“made, that *Tiberius* should govern the
“provinces jointly with *Augustus*, and make
“the census with (x) him. *Tacitus* says,
“That

(t) Quo usque hoc Maximiane, patiar, me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare tibi illicitam missionem? An quod Divo Augusto post septuaginta aetatis, quinquaginta imperii, non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi? *Panegy. cap. 11. laudat. à Pagio. Critic. A. Ch. 11. n. iii.*

(u) Cum res Galliarum maximae molis, accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones, coercitione magis quam poenâ mollisset, & Senatus Populusque Rom. (postulante patre ejus) ut aequum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset.—in urbem reversus, jampridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannoniis Dalmatiisque egit triumphum, *Vellei. lib. ii. c. 121.*

(x) A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum quem distulerat egit.—Dedicavit & Concordiae eadem:

item

“ That *Tiberius* was made colleague in the
“ Empire, (with *Augustus*) taken into part-
“ nership in the Tribunician power, and re-
“ commended (y) to all the armies.” And
there are in this last mentioned (z) historian
frequent references to *Tiberius*’s partnership
in the Empire with *Augustus*.

I must be allowed to be particular in the
account of some things said by *Dio*. In his
history of the affairs, A. U. 765. A. D. 12.
he says : “ *Augustus* (a) now advanced in

item Pollucis & Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis.
Ac non multo post lege per Coss. lata, ut provincias cum
Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret,
condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. *Suet. in Tiber. cap.*
20. 21.

(y) Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus è privignis erat :
illic cuncta vergere : filius, collega imperii, consors tribunitiae
potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur. *Tacit.*
An. lib. 1. c. 3.

(z) Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio Tri-
buniciam potestatem A PATRIBUS RURSUM postularet, &c. *id.*
ibid. c. 10. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille variè
differebat, de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia : solam Divi
Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem : se in PARTEM
CURARUM VOCATUM, experiendo didicisse, quam arduum,—
regendi cuncta onus. *ibid. c. 11.*

(a) Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀύγουστος ἐκεινόν τε, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ γήρῳ ὦν, τῇ βαλῇ,
καὶ ταύτην τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθειτο· ἀνέγνω δὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ αὐ-
τὸς (ὃ γὰρ οἷός τε ἦν γινώσκειν) ἀλλ’ ὁ Γερμανικὸς, ὥσπερ εἰώθει.
—ὃ μάλιστα καὶ τὰλλα ἤτιόν τι παρὰ τῆτο διώκει. *Dio. l. 56.*
p. 587. B. C.

“ years

“ years, recommended in a writing Ger-
 “ manicus to the Senate, and the Senate to
 “ Tiberius. He did not however read the
 “ writing himself, (not being able,) but
 “ Germanicus, as he had been wont to do.—
 “ But yet he did not lay aside the care of
 “ the public.”—Under the next Year, A.
 U. 766. A. D. 13. the same historian says:
 “ Augustus then accepted (b) for the fifth
 “ time, though unwillingly, the government
 “ of the state for ten years, and renewed also
 “ the Tribunician power to Tiberius.” He
 says also, “ That Augustus, (c) on account
 “ of his great age, (which likewise hindered
 “ his coming to the Senate, except very rare-
 “ ly,) desired he might have twenty annual
 “ counsellours,—And a decree was passed,
 “ that whatever was enacted in council by
 “ him, together with Tiberius, and those

(b) Τὴν τε προσησίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκάτην, τὴν πέμπτην
 ἄκων δὲ ὁ Αὐγούστου ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν ἑξῆς τὴν δημαρ-
 χικὴν αὐθις ἔδωκε. *ibid.* p. 588. B.

(c) Καὶ συμβούλους, ὑπὸ τῷ γήρῳ (ὅφ' ἔπερ ἠδὲ ἐς τὸ βαλ-
 λήριον ἔτι, πλὴν σπανιώτατα, συνειφόριτα) ἑικοσιν ἑτησίως ἡτήσας
 —καὶ προσεψηφίσθη, πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ μίλλὰ τε τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ
 μεῖν ἐκείνων, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ὑπατευόντων, καὶ τῶν ἐς τῷτο ἀποδοδιν-
 μένων, τῶν τε ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν τῶν ποιητῶν δηλονότι, τῶν τε ἄλλων
 ὅσως ἂν ἐκάστοτε προσπαράλαβη, βαλευομένην δόξην, κύρια, ὡς καὶ
 πάσῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀρέσαντα, εἶναι. *ib.* C. D.

“ said

“ said counsellours, and the Consuls in being, and the Consuls elect, and his grandsons adopted by him, and any others, whom he should call to his council, should be ratified, and deemed of the same authority, as if enacted by the authority of the whole senate.” This mention of *Tiberius*, and of him only by name, in this decree of the senate, next after *Augustus*, appears to me remarkable. I do not observe, that any of these passages of *Dio* have been quoted by *Pagi*. For what reason he omitted them, I do not know. He has however insisted upon another passage of this historian, taken from the preceding year, A. U. 764. A. D. 11. But his argument from it seems to me to be founded upon a forced and arbitrary construction of *Dio*: and therefore I content my self with referring the reader for it to (d) him, and (e) Mr. *Le Clerc*, who also lays a stresse upon it.

Once more, *Dio* says, “ that upon the death of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* immediately (f)

(d) A. C. 11. n. 13. 14. 15.

(e) *Ubi supra*.

(f) Τοῦτο· ὅτι δὴ τις ὦν, ἔς τε τὰ κρατοῦντα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἴδιον, πάντα, ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκθύς ἀπὸ τῆς Νύκτας ἀπέσιλοι, μὴ λείπων αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι· ψηφισθὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων, ἐκ ἰδίῳ. *Dio*. l. 57. p. 602. D.

“ sent away letters from *Nola* to the armies
 “ and all the provinces, as Emperour: but
 “ yet did not call himself so, though that,
 “ with other titles, had been given him by
 “ a decree.”

(3.) There is a particular fact related of *Tiberius* by several historians, said to be done by him, when *Prince*, which yet must have been done before *Augustus* died. *Plinie* says, that *Tiberius* was much given to drinking: “ And that it was thought, that for this
 “ reason *Lucius Piso* had been chosen by
 “ him to be Prefect of *Rome*, because he
 “ had continued two days and two nights
 “ drinking with him, (g) when *Prince*.” *Suetonius* says, “ That *Tiberius* in his first
 “ campaigns was much reflected on for his
 “ excess in drinking; and that, afterwards,
 “ when *Prince*, in the very time of the cor-
 “ rection of the public manners, he spent a
 “ night and two days in eating and drinking
 “ with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *Lucius Piso*;

(g)—Tribus congiis (unde & cognomen illi fuit,) epotis uno impetu, spectante miraculi gratia Tib. principe, in senecta jam severo atque etiam saevo alias, sed ipsa juvenia ad merum pronior fuerat: eaque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem urbis Romae curae ab eo delectum, quod biduo duabusque noctibus perpotationem continuasset apud ipsum jam PRINCIPEM.
Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 14. c. 22.

“ to the former of which he gave immediately the province of *Syria*, and to the other the prefecture of the City (b).”

It may be worth while to observe with *Pagi*, that these two writers, who tell us the story of this drunken bout of *Tiberius*, and the consequences of it, seem not to have had their accounts from one and the same source. They differ from each other in two or three particulars: One says, that this piece of excess lasted *two days and two nights*; the other, *one night and two days*. *Plinie* mentions only the preferment of *Piso*; *Suetonius* adds that of *Flaccus* also. But they both agree in saying, that *Tiberius* was then *Prince*; and *Suetonius* adds a very particular circumstance, as to the time, that it was during the correction of the public manners; which may very naturally lead us to what he had said of the law passed, that *Tiberius* should govern the provinces jointly with *Augustus*, and make the census with

(b) In castris tiro etiam tum, propter vini aviditatem pro Claudio *Caldius*, pro Nerone *Mero* vocabatur. Postea PRINCEPS in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco & L. *Pisone* noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit: quorum alteri *Syriam* provinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis confestim detulit. *Suet. in Tib. cap.*

him ; one part of which at *Rome* was the correction of manners.

But we must enquire somewhat more particularly into the time of this act of intemperance. It may be easily inferred from *Tacitus* : who relating the affairs of the year, in which *Domitius Aenobarbus* and *M. Furius Camillus* were Consuls, sc. A. U. 785. A. D. 32. says: " Then *Piso* had the honour " of a public funeral by decree of the " Senate, having behaved in his office to " general satisfaction for (i) twenty years." If we go back twenty years, we are brought to the 12th year of the Christian Aera, and the 765th of the City ; in which year, according to *Tacitus*, *Piso* must have been prefect of *Rome*, which is two years before the death of *Augustus*.

There are however some objections to this story, which must be considered before we leave it. Several (k) learned men would read in *Tacitus* X. instead of XX. But to this *Pagi*'s reply is sufficient, that this emendation is without the authority of any manuscripts. It is likewise objected, that *Pom-*

(i) Dein *Piso* viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto Senatus celebratus est. *Tacit. Ann. l. vi. cap. 11.*

(k) *Lipsius in loc. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diff. ii. p. 324.*

Pomponius Flaccus was not Prefect of *Syria*, till long after the year of the City 765 : consequently, neither was *Piso* then made Prefect (l) of *Rome*. Dr. *Pagi* (m) allows very readily, that *Pomponius* did not at this time go Prefect into *Syria*; but then he gives several instances of men who have been nominated Governours of provinces, who yet never went into them; one is *Aelius Lamia*, who by this very same Emperour had been nominated Prefect of the same province likewise, namely of *Syria*, but yet never went thither. The fact is taken notice of by (n) *Tacitus*, and *Dio* (o); which

(l) Sed hoc amplius ex Suetonio colliges, factum Pisonem Praefectum, sub idem tempus quo Pomponius Syriae Praetor. Ille autem Syriae non ante annum 773 praeponi potuit: (Mae-
fiam enim provinciam administrabat, A. 772. uti ex Tacit. lib. ii. clarum :) non ergo tot annos Piso Praefectus urbi. *Lip-
sius ubi supra. vid. etiam Norisium ibid.*

(m) A. Chr. 11. n. v.

(n) Extremo anni [A. U. 786. A. D. 33.] Mors Aelii La-
miae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae i-
magine tandem exsolutus, urbi praefuerat. *Tacit. Ann. l. 6.
c. 27.*

(o) Τόντε Πείσαννα τὸν πολίαρχον τελευτήσαντα δημοσία τα-
φῇ ἐτίμησε, καὶ Λάμιον (legendum Λάμιον, id est, Lamiam) αὐτῷ
αὐτὴ ταμίαν ἀνθεΐλετο, ὃν προπάλαι τῇ στρατιᾷ (legendum Συ-
ρία. Muretus in Tacit. An. vi.) προσάξας κατεῖχεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
τὸτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἱποίει, ἕργα μὲν, μὴδεν αὐτῶν δε-
όμενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ, τιμᾶν αὐτὸς προσποιέμενος. *Dio l. 58. p.
633. D.*

last observes, that this was a common practice with *Tiberius*. *Tacitus* has mentioned another like instance in the reign of *Nero* (p).

Another objection against *Piso's* being made prefect of the City, A. U. 765, is this: *Suetonius* says, that this excess of *Tiberius* was committed during the public correction of manners: By which he has been supposed to refer to *Tiberius's* being made Censor with *Augustus*. But Cardinal *Noris* objects, that the Census was not made by *Augustus*, A. U. 765, but 767. And (q) he is of opinion, that the *public correction of manners*, which *Suetonius* here speaks of, intends the edicts which *Tiberius* published against luxury, A. U. 775. For my own part, I cannot see, but that the words of *Suetonius* may very well refer to the time in which *Tiberius* was decreed Censor with *Augustus*, which might be done, A. U. 765: though the Census was not *made*, or at least not finished, till the year 767.

(p) Syria P. Antio destinata, & variis mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. *Tacit. Ann. l. 13. cap. 22.*

(q) Sed *Suetonius* si *censores* *Tiberium* significaret, annum U. C. 767. designasset, quo ipsa *publicorum morum correctio* a censoribus peracta est. Itaque designat tempus, quo *Tiberius* publicis edictis urbano luxui modum ponebat, A. U. 775. *ibid. p. 324. vid. eund. p. 329.*

But

But that this *correction of manners*, which *Suetonius* here speaks of, is not that which he has himself mentioned in another (*r*) place ; and which *Tacitus* says was made, A. U. 775 (*s*), may be made evident from two or three passages, not particularly insisted on by *Pagi*. *Seneca* says, that *Tiberius* gave secret directions of importance to *Piso*, when he went into *Campania*, at which time there were divers uneasinesses and discontents in the City (*t*). This Journey of *Tiberius* was made in the beginning of the year before that, in which the edicts were published for the suppressing of luxury, namely, in the year of the City 774, as appears from *Tacitus* (*u*).

(*r*) *In Tib. cap. 34.*

(*s*) Caius Sulpicius, D. Haterius consules sequuntur. Inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum. *Ann. l. iii. c. 52.*

(*t*) L. Piso, urbis custos, ebrius, ex quo semel factus est, fuit, majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat : usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat : hoc erat ejus matutinum. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic & Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum praeponeret Thraciae, quam perdomuit, & Tiberius proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe & suspecta relinqueret & invisa. *Seneca ep. 83.*

(*u*) Sequitur Tiberii Quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, ejus anni principio Tiberius, quasi firmandae valetudini, in Campaniam concessit : longam & continuam absentiam paulatim meditans. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 31.*

It is plain therefore, that *Piso* was prefect of *Rome* in 774, and in the very beginning of it: and it may be supposed, that *Tiberius* had had considerable experience of *Piso*'s fidelity and ability in that post before that, since he relied upon him in a very critical conjuncture.

Cardinal *Noris* objects (x) farther: It is true *Tiberius* had Proconsular Power in the provinces two years before *Augustus*'s death: all the authority he had in the City was owing to his Tribunician Power, but that included only a right of interceding or forbidding, but could not give the power of appointing a Prefect.

I think it is undoubted, that *Tiberius* might call the Senate by virtue of the Tribunician power (y), and it is likely do several other things. But there is no need of contending about this point. Perhaps *Tiberius* did not nominate and appoint *Piso* Prefect of the City: He might however recommend him so effectually to *Augustus*, his

(x) His accedit, Tiberium in provinciis biennio ante mortem Augusti imperium obtinuisse; intra urbem verò non habuisse, nisi jus intercedendi ob tribuniciam potestatem. Quare unus Augustus Urbis praefecti designandi potestatem habebat. *Noris. ibid. p. 324.*

(y) *Vid. Uffer. Ann. A. M. 4015. & 4017.*

Colleague, that he might appoint him. *Pagi* observes, that *Plinie*, speaking of this matter, uses the word *choosing*, not appointing (z).

I imagine, that this fact is now cleared up and vindicated against the several objections which have been made to it; and that *Piso* was *appointed* or *chosen* to be Prefect of the City of *Rome* by *Tiberius*, then *Prince*, two years before the death of *Augustus*, namely, in A. U. 765.

But before I quite leave this story, I would strengthen the argument founded upon it by a remark or two upon the title of *Prince*, given here to *Tiberius* by *Plinie* and *Suetonius*.

It is well known that *Prince* was the soft title, which *Augustus* chose rather than that of (a) King or Dictator. This title therefore, when used absolutely, is equivalent to Emperour: And *Dio* says, that *Tiberius* had the title of Emperour given him by a

(z) Eâque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem Urbis Romae curae ab eo *delectum*. *vid. Pagi Crit. ad An. Ch. 11. n. 4.*

(a) Qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine PRINCIPIS sub imperium accepit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 1.* Non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed PRINCIPIS nomine constitutam Rempubicam. *id. ibid. c. 9.*

decree, before *Augustus* died, as has been observed already. Moreover this title of Emperour is frequently given by *Roman* and *Greek* authors to *Titus* and *Trajan*, on account of their tribunician and proconsular power, which they enjoyed, the former in the life-time of his father *Vespasian*, the latter, of *Nerva*. *Pagi* thinks, this title of Emperour, which was given to these Collegues in the Empire, was founded particularly on the perpetual proconsular power in all the provinces (*b*). But, however that be, it is certain, they are often called Emperours. *Josephus*, in his description of *Vespasian's* and *Titus's* triumph at *Rome*, after the *Jewish* war, says, That the (*c*) Emperours lodged the night before near the temple of *Isis*. *Plinie* the elder, in his dedication of his *Natural History* to *Titus*, written before the death of *Vespasian*, calls *Titus* Emperour (*d*) more than once. *Philostratus*

(*b*) Titus enim, quemadmodum & ante eum Tiberius, ac post eum Trajanus, imperii Collega fuit, ideoque imperatoris titulo exornatus. Imperii collegae Tribunicia potestate, & imperio proconsulari donabantur, ratione cujus imperatores nuncupati. *Pagi A. D. 71. n. 3. in Crit. ad Bar.*

(*c*) Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνεπαύοντο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης οἱ αὐτοκράτορες. *Joseph. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 1305. v. 2.*

(*d*) Jucundissime Imperator——Sciantque omnes quam ex
aequo

lostratus says, that *Titus* was declared Emperour at *Rome*, and admitted to equal power in the government (*e*) with his father. It is in vain therefore to say, that *Titus* was called Emperour in his father's life-time, purely on account of his having been saluted Emperour by his soldiers in the camp, or in the sense in which this word was used under the Commonwealth; since *Philostatus* says, he was declared Emperour at *Rome*. Moreover *Capitolinus* (*f*) calls *Vespasian* and *Titus* Princes without any distinction. All these passages thus laid together may satisfy us, that *Prince* and *Emperour* are equivalent in these writers; and that *Tiberius* had a right to the title of *Prince*, even during the life-time of *Augustus*, after he was made his Collegue in the Empire. I shall refer the reader to but one passage more,

aequo tecum vivat imperium. Triumphalis & Censorius tu, sexiesque consul, ac Tribuniciae potestatis particeps. *Plin. in Praefat.*

(*e*) Ἀναξήνδεις καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Πάμῃ, καὶ ἀριστείων ἀξιώ-
δεις τέτων, ἀπὸ μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί. κ. τ. λ.
Cumque imperator Romae esset appellatus, omnibus ornatus
dignitatibus. Romam iter ingressus, ut patris collega fieret.
Philost. vit. Apollonii. lib. vi. cap. 30. p. 269. Lipsiae. 1709.

(*f*) Avus Annii Rufus, item Consul & praefectus urbi ad-
scitus in patricios a PRINCIPIBUS Vespasiano & Tito censori-
bus. in *Marc. Antonin. Philos.*

in which *Plinie* the younger assures us, that *Trajan* was declared Emperour (g) by *Nerva* in his life-time. And it seems very strongly to support *Pagi*'s opinion, that the title of Emperour given to these Collegues was founded rather on their Proconsular empire than their Tribunician power.

(4.) There are two or three verses of *Dionysius* the geographer, which *Pagi* esteems a very remarkable testimony to the Proconsular Empire of *Tiberius* (h). It appears from the two last of these verses, that in *Dionysius*'s time *Rome* was governed by more than one Prince. It has been questioned indeed, when *Dionysius* lived, and who are those *Princes* he speaks of. Some have thought, they were the two *Antonines*: others have thought, he intended *Severus*,

(g) Simul filius, simul Caesar, mox IMPERATOR, & consors Tribuniciae potestatis, & omnia pariter & statim factus es, quae proximè parens verus tantum in alterum filium contulit. *Plin. Paneg. c. 8.*

(h) Ἐκ διδὸς Αὐσονίης αἰὲ μέγα κοιρανέουσις, v. 78.

A Jove Aufonii semper longe lateque dominantes.

Ῥώμην τιμήσσαν, ἑμῶν μέγαν οἶκον ἀνάκτων, 355

Μητέρα πασάων πόλεων, ἄφνειον ἔδεθλον. 356

De amne Tiberi loquitur; aitque, Qui amabilem fecat in duas partes Romam, Romam honorabilem: meorum magnam domum Principum vel Dominorum. *Dionys. orbis descript.*

Cara-

Caracalla and *Geta*. Cardinal (i) *Noris*; I think, hath put it beyond all doubt, by a passage alleged from (k) *Plinie*, that *Dionysius* lived in the time of *Augustus*. The Cardinal indeed supposes, that the Princes here referred to are *Caius* and *Lucius Caesar*, *Augustus*'s adopted sons. *Pagi* seems to me to have shewn, that the title of ἀνάρχης cannot belong to them; and that *Augustus* and *Tiberius* are the Princes, which *Dionysius* means: But for the particulars I must refer the reader to *Pagi* himself (l).

(5.) There were two different computations of *Tiberius*'s reign in the time of *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*. For having first said, that *Augustus* reigned forty three years, and *Tiberius* twenty-two (m), he adds: "But some reckon the reigns of the Roman Emperours thus.—*Augustus* reigned "forty six years four months and one day.

(i) *Cenot. Pis. Diff.* 2. p. 193.

(k) Hoc in loco [Arabia nempe] genitum esse Dionysium, terrarum orbis situs recentissimum auctorem, quem ad commentanda omnia in orientem praemisit Divus Augustus, ituro in Armeniam ad Parthicas Arabicasque res majore filio. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 27.*

(l) *Critica in Baron. A. D.* 11. n. 6. 7.

(m) Ἀύγυστος, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία· Τιβέριος, ἔτη xϞ. *Clem. Strom.* l. 1. p. 339. *A. Parisiis* 1629.

“ Then *Tiberius*, twenty six years, six months, nineteen days (n).”

Having laid before the reader the chief arguments that have been produced for the Proconsular, or joint Empire of *Tiberius* with *Augustus*; I will consider also some of the objections, which there are against this opinion.

I. It is objected, that *Spartian* says, that *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus* (o) were the two first *Augusti* that governed the *Roman Empire* together. But to this it is answered, that none of the patrons of this opinion ever said, that *Tiberius* had the title of *Augustus*, whilst *Augustus* lived, but only that he was Collegue with him in the Empire. These words of *Spartian* are no more an objection against *Tiberius*’s Proconsular empire, than they are against *Titus*’s and *Trajan*’s; who certainly enjoyed this honour, the one with his father *Vespasian*, and the other with *Nerva*.

Nor indeed did the title of *Augustus* give

(n) Τινὲς μὲν τοι τὰς χρόνας τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλείων ἔτι αἰναγράφουσι.—Αὐγυς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μς, μῆνας δ, ἡμέραν μίαν. Ἐπειτα Τιβερίου, ἔτη κς, μῆνας 5, ἡμέρας 19. id. ib. C.

(o) Hi sunt, qui postea duo pariter Augusti, primi rempublicam gubernaverunt. *Spartian. in Hadrian. cap. 24. Vid. Eutrop. lib. viii. c. 9. & Capitolin. in Marc. c. 7.*

any

any new power. It was only a title of honour (*p*), which sort of titles were usually taken gradually. *Tiberius* ever refused that of Father of his countrey. And would not permit that of *Augustus* to be given him by any decree, though he accepted of it from some persons, and made use of it himself in letters to (*q*) foreign Princes. And *Dio* takes notice of it as a singularity in *Caligula*, that in one day he accepted all those titles, which *Augustus* had received throughout his long reign, and had suffered to be given him only one by one, (some of which *Tiberius* never would accept of,) except only that of father of his countrey; which he took upon him also in a short time after (*r*).

2dly, It is objected: If *Tiberius* had been made Collegue in the Empire with *Augustus*, there could have been no reason for those fears about the succession of *Tiberius*, which

(*p*) *Vid. Dio lib. liii. p. 507.*

(*q*) Τό τε τῷ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος πρόσρημα παντελῶς διεώσατο, τὸ τῷ Αὐγύστῳ ἐκ ἐπέθετο μὲν (ἐδὲ γὰρ ψηφισθῆναι ποτὲ εἶπε) λεγόμενον δ' ἀκέρων, καὶ γραφόμενον ἀναγινώσκων, ἔφερε· καὶ ὁσάκις γε βασιλεύσει τισὶν ἐπέσειλλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσενέγραφε. *Dio lib. 57. p. 607. A.*

(*r*) Ὡς πάντα ὅσα ὁ Αὐγύστῳ ἐν τοσούτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς μόλις καὶ κατ' ἐν ἑκάστον ψηφισθέντα οἱ εἰδέξατο (ὣν ἵνα τίς ἐξείη· ἐδ' ὅπως προσήκατο) ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ λαβεῖν. κ. τ. λ. *Dio lib. 59. p. 641. D.*

Livia

Livia shewed upon the death (s) of *Augustus*. Nor would *Tiberius* have hesitated to accept the Empire, when offered to him by the Senate. Or indeed, what occasion could there have been for any new investiture at all?

But to this, I think, it is easy to answer; that it is no surprising thing, that *Livia* should be under some pain, when the settlement of her son in the empire was at stake. Though *Tiberius* had been partner in the Empire, yet certainly the death of *Augustus* made a great change. *Germanicus* was very popular, and at the head of a numerous army (t). And as for *Tiberius's* hesitation, he had been hitherto but partner in the Empire, and some kind of new investiture was needful. It is true, he carried his dissimulation very far: but *Augustus* himself never renewed a fresh term of government, (which he did several times,) but with much difficulty; and not till he had been overcome by importunity, and the consideration of the necessity of affairs.

However, this dissimulation of *Tiberius*

(s) *Acribus namque custodiis domum, & vias sepserat Livia. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

(t) *Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 33—35. Dio lib. 57. p. 603.*

has afforded a new proof, that he had been Collegue with *Augustus*. For, as *Tacitus* and *Dio* intimate very plainly the fears, which *Tiberius* had of *Germanicus*; so *Suetonius* in particular says, “ He pretended a “ bad state of health, that *Germanicus* “ might entertain hopes of a speedy succession, or at least (u) a partnership in the “ Empire.” But such an expectation had been ridiculous in *Germanicus*, and this pretense of *Tiberius* could never have had the effect he designed, if no one had been partner in the Empire before.

3. But the chief objection against the supposition, that St. *Luke* has computed the reign of *Tiberius* from the time of his Proconsular Empire, seems to be this; That it does not appear that any writers have computed the reign of those who were Collegues in the Empire by the epoch of their Proconsular Empire, and that in particular there are no traces of this computation of *Tiberius*'s reign (x).

(u) Simulavit & valetudinem, quo aequiore animo *Germanicus* celerem successionem vel certè societatem principatus operiretur. *Suet. in Tiber. Cap. 25.*

(x) Est autem inauditum in omni memoria, *Titi* annos ab alio initio fuisse deductos quam a morte *Vespasiani*. *S. Basnage Annal. Pol. Eccles. A. D. 11. n. iv.*

To

To this I answer : There is reason to think, that people did often compute according to the epoch of the Proconsular Empire. *Pagi* mentions a medal, which has this inscription : *In the xi. new sacred year of the Emperour Titus Cesar (y) Vespasian Augustus.* Now *Titus* reigned alone after his father's death but a little above two years.

It will not be expected, I should here attempt to explain the meaning of the epoch of the *new sacred year*. All that I shall observe, is, that it appears not to have been used upon the coins of any Emperours, beside those of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Domitian* and *Nerva* : And that it does not begin at any one common period, such as the building or dedication of any one particular temple, but that the numbers answer exactly to the years of the several Emperours on whose

(y) Sic in nummo Graeco apud *Oconem* p. 166. legitur ΑΥΤ. ΤΙΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. ΣΕΒ. ΕΤΟΥΣ. ΙΕΡΟΥ. ΙΑ. id est, Imperatoris Titi Caesaris Vespasiani Augusti anno novo Sacro xi. Quo ex Titi nummo manifeste apparet, deceptos viros eruditos qui negant annos Tiberii, Titi, aliorumque Imperii Collegarum numeratos fuisse. Haec porro epocha non nisi in Vespasiani, Titi, Domitiani & Nervae nummis occurrit. *Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 81. n. iii.*

coins

coins it is found (z.) And *Pagi* is of opinion, that it was an epoch chiefly used by the people of *Syria* and *Egypt*, because the epithet *sacred* is more common upon their coins than any others (a).

And I cannot but think, that there were for some time different computations of the length of *Nerva's* and *Trajan's* reigns; and that they were owing to this, that *Trajan* was for some time *Nerva's* Collegue in the empire. Mr. *Dodwell* (b) was of opinion, that *Nerva* did actually resign the empire to *Trajan* before his death. And so (c) *Aurelius Victor*, and (d) *Laëtantius* seem to say. I think indeed that *Nerva* did not

(z) Nisi enim hoc modo in nummis Titi, Domitiani & Nervæ epocha hæc explicetur, impossibile est nummos inter se posse convenire; cum eorum imperii annos non excedat, sed ad amissim iis respondeat. *Pagi ibid.*

(a) Et nullibi sacri nomen frequentius, quam in nummis in Syria & Aegypto percussis, usurpatum. *ibid. n. iv.*

(b) *Vid. Append. ad Dissert. Cypr. n. 39. 40.*

(c) Quid enim *Nerva* prudentius?—Qui cum extrema ætate apud Sequanos, quo Tyranni defecit metu, imperium arbitrio legionum cepisset; ubi prospexit, nisi a superioribus robustioribusque corpore, animoque geri non posse, mense Sexto ac Decimo semet eo abdicavit. *Aurel. Vict. de Caesar. in Nerva.*

(d) Simul & exemplum *Nervæ* proferebat, qui imperium *Trajano* tradidisset. *De Mort. Persecut. c. 18.*

resign, not only because *Eutropius* (e) says, that *Diocletian* was the first of all the Roman Emperours that did so; but especially because the younger *Plinie*, who served under *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and knew them both very well, says nothing of it, though he often mentions (f) their joint empire. But I think, that the notion, which the forementioned authors had of *Nerva's* resigning, may be very well accounted for upon the supposition, that they had met with different computations of the time of these two Princes reigns, in some ancient writers: And their mistake is not easie to be accounted for otherwise.

As for *Tiberius*, I take it for granted, that it has been fully proved, that he was for

(e) *Diocletianus privatus in villa, quae haud procul a Salonis est, praeclaro otio senuit; inusitata virtute usus; ut solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatae vitae statum civilitatemque remearet. Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 28.*

(f) *Assumptus es in laborum curarumque consortium, Plin. Paneg. c. 7. Inde QUASI deposito imperio qua securitate, qua gloria laetus? (Nerva nempe) Nam quantulum refert deponas an PARTIARIS imperium, nisi quod difficilius hoc est? ib. c. 8. Magnum hoc tuae moderationis indicium, quod non solum successor imperii, sed PARTICEPS etiam SOCIUSQUE placuisti. c. 9.*

some

some time partner in the empire with *Augustus*; and particularly that it has been made appear that *Piso* was Prefect of *Rome* twenty years, and that he was put into that post by the appointment or procurement of *Tiberius*. Thus much I think *Basnage* allows (g). And *Suetonius* and *Plinie* both say, that *Tiberius* was then Prince.

And it is highly probable, that the Christians had a perswasion that there were two different epochs of the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign: Otherwise, when they said, that *Jesus* was crucified in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, when the two *Gemini* were Consuls, namely A. D. 29. (as they did almost universally,) after he had preached above (b) two years, or a (i) whole year in-

(g) *Ubi supra*, A. D. 11. n. ii.

(b) Tricesimo enim juxta Evangelistam Lucam anno aetatis suae coepit in carne Dominus Evangelium praedicare, & juxta Johannem Evangelistam, per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos: & inde sex Tiberii supputantur anni, &c. *Apollinarius Laodic. apud Hieron. Com. in Dan. c. 9.* 'Ο δὲ Ἰούδας παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἔδωκε τρία διέτριψεν ἔτη. *Orig. cont. Cels. l. 2. p. 67.*

(i) Καὶ ὅτι ἰνιαυτὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρύξαι, καὶ τὸτο γέγραπται ἔτως — πεντηκαδικάτῳ ἔν ἔτει Τιβερίου, καὶ πεντηκαδικάτῳ Ἀυγέστου. ἔτω πληρῶνται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως ἃ ἔπαθεν. *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 340. A.*

cluding two passovers, or a year and (k) some few months; they must have been sensible, that they contradicted St. *Luke*; who says, that the word of God came to *John* the Baptist in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*; since also they must necessarily have allowed some time for the ministry of *John*, distinct from that of *Jesus*.

That we have so few examples of this way of computing the reign of *Tiberius*, is not to be wondered; considering how few ancient writers who lived near his time are come down to us, and especially such as lived in the provinces, where this epoch must have been chiefly used. The distinct computation of *Augustus*'s reign to the time of his death, and of *Tiberius*'s after him, was undoubtedly most commodious: and for this reason, probably, the computation of *Tiberius*'s reign from the time of his Proconsular empire was soon dropped. Besides, *Tiberius* seems to have taken pains to obliterate this date of his government; inasmuch as he was unwilling to have it thought that he owed his greatness to the adoption of *Augustus*, or the intrigues of his mother *Livia*; but would have it ascribed solely to the free choice of the people after

(k) Ἐναυτὸν γὰρ περὶ μῆνας ὀλίγας ἐδίδαξεν. *Orig. Phil. p. 4.*
Augustus's

Augustus's death (l), that is, to his own merit, as *Dio* expressly says (m).

Tiberius then having had for some time before the death of *Augustus* equal power with him in all the provinces and armies, and having been made thereby partner with him in the empire; it is not impossible, but that *St. Luke* might compute the reign of *Tiberius* by this epoch.

WE should now, if possible, settle the exact time when *Tiberius* was made partner with *Augustus*. It may be concluded, that he was so, A. U. 765, two years before *Augustus* died, because in that year *Piso* was made prefect of *Rome*, *Tiberius* being Prince. And Archbishop *Usher* and *Prideaux* place the begining of this government of *Tiberius* in this year.

There is however a considerable difficulty attending this matter, because *Velleius* and *Suetonius* differ about the time, in which the lawe was passed by the Senate, decreeing *Ti-*

(l) Dabat & famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a Republica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum & senilem adoptionem irrepfisse. *Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 8.*

(m) Ἦδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι ἐπειδὴν ἡ Λιβία ἀκούσῃ τῷ Ἀυ-
στῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιποιήσασθαι ἐβέλτετο, ἱπλάττειν ὅπως μὴ
παρ' ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς βελῆς ἀναγκασθῇ, ὥς καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν
ἐφ' αὐτῇ προήκων, δόξειεν αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι. *Dio. l. 57. p. 603. D.*

berius equal power with *Augustus* in the provinces and armies. According to *Suetonius* this lawe was not passed till after *Tiberius's* triumph, which certainly happened, A. U. 765. A. D. 12. But according to *Velleius* (n) this lawe was passed at the desire of *Augustus*, before *Tiberius* returned to *Rome* from *Germany* to make his triumph. *Pagi* (o) is inclined to prefer the testimony of *Velleius Paterculus* before that of *Suetonius*, because *Velleius* was contemporary with *Tiberius*. But yet he dares not be positive in this matter, because *St. Clement's* numbers are different from both. However, as *Tiberius* was Consul in the 21st, and 31st years of our Lord, he judges this piece of respect to the tenth and twentieth years from the 11th year of our Lord, to (p) be a confirmation of the supposition, that *Tiberius's* Proconsular

(n) *Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21, 22. Velleius Pat. l. ii. c. 121.*
 Their words are transcribed above, p. 808.

(o) *Vid. Crit. A. Ch. 11. n. x.*

(p) *Quia tamen Tiberius anno Christi xxi. rursusque anno Christi xxxi. Consul processit, existimandum, utrumque consulatum ob Decennalia & Vicennalia Imperii Proconsularis Tiberii gestum, ideoque & illum anno Christi xi. Imperio Proconsulari donatum : quamquam uterque consulatus anno Christi xii. quo rem actam narrat Suetonius, respondere etiam possit, etiamsi quinquennalia legitimo tempore celebrata fuerint. id. ibid.*

power

power commenced, A. D. 11. He observes also marks of honour shewn to the *Quinquennals* of this epoch, such as the dedication of temples by himself, or the people of the provinces, the founding of cities by dependent princes, and such other the like things, with which the *Quinquennals* and *Decennals*, that is, the fifth and tenth years of remarkable events, were wont to be celebrated.

As he thinks it most probable, that *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire began, A. U. 764. A. D. 11; so he is pretty well satisfied as to the month and day of the month; which he thinks was the 28th of *August*, or vth of the *Kalends* of *September*. One reason for it is, that from the 725th year of the City, *Augustus* seems to have had a particular respect for the vth of the *Kalends* of months. Moreover, according to the second computation, which *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions of the reign of *Tiberius*, it must have begun on the 28th of *August*. St. *Clement* says, that *Tiberius* reigned twenty six years, six months, nineteen days. Now *Tiberius* died the 16th of *March*, A. D. 37. From the 28th of *August*, A. D. 10. to the 16th of *March*, A. D. 37. are exactly (according to Dr. *Pagi's* reckoning,) so many

I i i 4 years

years, months, and days as St. *Clement* mentions. So that though St. *Clement* has been in the wrong as to the year, since he begins this computation of *Tiberius's* reign, A. D. 10; yet he has helped us to the month and day of the month, on which it commenced (q).

I have represented *Pagi's* sense of this matter, as well as I can, in a few words. But I cannot say, that this reasoning is altogether convincing. I must acknowledge, I see not how any argument can be drawn from St. *Clement's* testimony, either for the year or month of this epoch; if his numbers have been altered, as *Pagi* allows they have been in many places, and particularly in this very passage.

There appears to me some weight in his observation upon the *Quinquennals* and *Decennals* of this epoch: But yet it is not fully conclusive. There might be some other reason, beside that here supposed, for *Tiberius's* taking the Consulship, A. D. 21, and 31. The 22d, and 26th years of the Christian Aera are as remarkable as any

(q) Quare Clemens Alexandrinus rei gestae diem nobis conservavit, sed numeri annorum corrupti, quod in eo auctore non infrequens. *Pagi. Critic. A. D. 11. n. ix.*

other for the founding of cities, dedicating temples, and erecting of monuments. Though indeed, if this epoch began in the middle of any year, it is obvious at first sight, that these honours may be divided betwixt two years.

And perhaps *Velleius Paterculus* and *Suetonius* may be reconciled by supposing only, that there was some time between *Augustus's* proposing *Tiberius's* partnership with him to the Senate, and the passing of the Act.

Upon the whole, I think there is good reason to believe, that *Tiberius* was Collegue in the empire with *Augustus*; and that this epoch of *Tiberius's* empire was followed for some time by some persons, in the provinces at least: but it appears to me uncertain, when this Proconsular empire began, whether about *two* years, or about *three* years before *Augustus* died.

Let us however adjust the numbers in *St. Luke* to this computation of the reign of *Tiberius*, which commenced either about two years, or about three years before his empire after the death of *Augustus*. And we will have an eye to the two dates of our Saviour's nativity abovementioned, namely.

September

September or *October*, A. U. 748, and 749.

If *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire began about *three* years before *Augustus* died, on the 28th of *Aug.* A. U. 764. A. D. 11. then this 15th of *Tiberius's* reign (according to this computation of it,) began *August* 28. A. U. 778. A. D. 25. Supposing that *John the Baptist* began his ministry *November* following, in the same year, and that *Jesus* was baptized by him the 6th of *January* following in A. U. 779. A. D. 26: Then upon the supposition that *Jesus* was born in *September*, A. U. 748, he would be at his baptism thirty years of age and some months over.

If *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire commenced about *two* years before the death of *Augustus*, in A. U. 765. A. D. 12, then the fifteenth of the reign of *Tiberius* began in A. U. 779. A. D. 26. And supposing that *John the Baptist* began his ministry in *November* of that year, and that *Jesus* was baptized by him the 6th of *January* following, A. U. 780. A. D. 27, then, upon the supposition that *Jesus* was born in *September*, A. U. 749, he would be at the time of his baptism thirty years of age and some months over;

over: Or, if born A. U. 748, he would be somewhat more than thirty one years of age.

We will put this matter one way more. If *John the Baptist* began his ministry in the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, A. U. 778. A. D. 25. (as in the first stating of this question,) but did not baptize Jesus till the 6th of *January*, A. U. 780. A. D. 27, after he had preached somewhat above a year, then Jesus would be at his baptism thirty years of age and odd months, if he was born, A. U. 749; thirty one years of age and some odd months, if born the later end of the year 748.

I SEE not, but that we have a very good right to take those dates of these events, which appear most favorable to St. *Luke*; since it is not absolutely certain, when *Herod* died, or when *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire began: nor have any of the writers of harmonies determined, that I know of, beyond contradiction, the space of time between the commencement of *John the Baptist's* ministry and our Saviour's baptism. But if we allow on each hand the dates the least favorable to St. *Luke's* numbers, namely that Jesus was born, A. U. 748. and that he was not baptized till *January*, A. U. 780.

A. D. 27 ; yet even then Jesus would be little more, (as has been shewn,) than thirty one years of age ; at which time a person may be said very properly to be ABOUT *thirty years of age*, as will appear by and by.

I IMAGINE I have now shewed, that there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that St. *Luke* computed the reign of *Tiberius*, not from his sole empire after the death of *Augustus*, but from the time of his Proconsular empire, when he had equal power with *Augustus* given him in all the provinces and armies ; and that upon this supposition, there lies no objection against the age ascribed to Jesus at his baptism.

§. III. However, in order to compleat this solution of this difficulty, it will be proper to consider some other notes of time, which we find in the Evangelists ; and to enquire, whether these likewise agree with this supposition.

St. *Luke* says : *Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, PONTIUS PILATE BEING GOVERNOUR OF JUDEA, —the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias. Luke iii. 1, 2.*

It has been the opinion of some learned men, that *Pilate* did not come into *Judea* so soon as the fifteenth year of *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire, the 12th of his sole empire, A. U. 778. A. D. 25.

That every one may judge of this matter, I shall set down the account *Josephus* has given of *Pilate's* leaving *Judea*; from which we shall be able to conclude, when he came into it.

The Senate of the *Samaritans* sent complaints against *Pilate* to *Vitellius*, President of *Syria*. And *Josephus* says: “ *Vitellius*,
“ sending his friend *Marcellus* to administer
“ the affairs of *Judea*, commanded *Pilate*
“ to go to *Rome* to answer to the Emperour
“ for those things of which he was accused
“ by the *Jews*. And *Pilate* having spent
“ TEN YEARS IN JUDEA, hastened away
“ to *Rome*, in obedience to the commands
“ of *Vitellius*, not daring to refuse. But
“ before he got to *Rome*, *Tiberius* was
“ dead.

“ Moreover *Vitellius* came into *Judea*,
“ and went up to *Jerusalem*. It was then
“ a Feast time. The Feast is called
“ the PASSOVER. *Vitellius* being received
“ there with great magnificence, abolished
“ entirely the tax upon vendible fruits, and
“ granted

“ granted to the Priests the right of keeping
 “ in the temple the vestment of the High
 “ Priest and all it's ornaments, as they had
 “ done formerly.—Having conferred these
 “ favours upon the nation, he also took
 “ away the Priesthood from the High Priest
 “ *Josepb*, who is likewise called *Caiaphas*,
 “ and substituted in his room *Jonathan* the
 “ son of *Ananus* the High Priest. And
 “ then returned to *Antioch* (r).”

Josepb immediately after this says, that *Tiberius* sent orders to *Vitellius* to go and make a league with the King of the *Parthians*; that *Vitellius* having had a meeting with the King at the river *Euphrates*, and executed his commission, returned again to *Antioch* (s).

(r) Καὶ Οὐτίλλιος, Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτῷ φίλον ἐκπέμφας ἱπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον, Πιλάτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπιέναι, πρὸς ᾧ κατηγοροῖεν Ἰουδαῖοι διδάξοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα· καὶ Πιλάτος, δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας, εἰς Ῥώμην ἡπίεγτο, ταῖς Οὐτιλλίου πειθόμενος ἐντολαῖς, ἅκ ὃν ἀντιπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν, φθάσει Τιβερίου μιλασίας. Οὐτίλλιος δὲ, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος, ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνήει, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ, Πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται· δεχθεὶς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐτίλλιος, τὰ τέλη τῶν ὀνομένων καρπῶν ἀνήσει εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτην κατοικῶσι, καὶ τὴν σολὴν τῷ ἀρχιερεῶς, καὶ τὸν πάντα αὐτῷ κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κείμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία·
 κ. τ. λ. *Josepb. Ant. lib. 18. cap. v. §. 2. 3. p. 801. 802.*

(s) *Id. ibid. p. 802. 803.*

After

After this *Vitellius* received orders from *Tiberius* to go and make war with *Aretas* King of *Petra*.

“ *Vitellius* then having got all things ready for the war with *Aretas*, hastened away for *Petra* with two legions, and other auxiliary forces, and was come as far as *Ptolemais*. But as he was about to march his army through *Judea*, the chief men met him, entreating him not to go through their countrey ; — He complied with their request. And having ordered his army to take their rout through the great plain, he himself with *Herod* the Tetrarch and their friends went up to *Jerusalem*, to worship God, a Feast of the *Jews* being at hand (*t*). He was received by the people of the *Jews* with great respect. Having been there three days, he took away the High Priesthood from *Jonathan*, and gave it to his brother *Theophilus*. And on the fourth day after his arrival, receiving letters which brought him an account of the death of *Tiberius*, he took an oath of the people to *Caius* (*u*).”

(*t*) Ἐορτῆς πατρῆος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἡμετηρίας.

(*u*) *Id. ibid. cap. vi. §. 3.*

A few remarks on this account will suffice.

It is not expressly said, which feast of the *Jews* the last mentioned feast was: But there can be no doubt, but that it was the Passover, A. D. 37. I think this is not contested by any one. *Tiberius* died the 16th of *March*, A. D. 37. The news of his death might easily reach *Judea* by the Passover of that year, and could not be retarded to the feast of *Pentecost*.

The Passover first mentioned in this account must have been the Passover, A. D. 36. It is evident, that the summer following *Vitellius* went as far as the river *Euphrates*, and returned to *Antioch*: and the next spring he was to go and make war with *Aretas*. But whilst his troops marched toward *Petra*, he went up to *Jerusalem* at the Passover in the year thirty seven, as has been observed. Nothing can be plainer, I think, than that *Pilate* was removed before the Passover in thirty six. And must have been out some time before. *Vitellius* did not go to *Jerusalem* immediately after he had sent away *Pilate*, but first ordered his friend *Marcellus* to take care of affairs there.

It

It is not said here, how long *Pilate* had been out, before *Vitellius* went up to *Jerusalem*; but it is probable, it was half a year. This may be concluded from hence: *Josephus* says, that *Vitellius*, when he was at *Jerusalem*, the first time here spoken of, put the High Priest's vestment into the Priest's hands to be kept by them in the temple. *Josephus* is very expresse, that this favour was conferred by *Vitellius* upon the nation at this time, and that having done so, he put out *Caiaphas*, and returned to *Antioch*. Now in another place *Josephus* says: "This vestment King *Herod* (x) kept here. [*in the Castle of Antonia.*] And after his death "it was kept in the same place by the Romans till the time of *Tiberius Cesar*. In "his reign *Vitellius* president of *Syria*, having come to *Jerusalem*, and the people receiving him in a very honorable manner, "he being willing to make them a suitable "return, since they had desired that the sa-

(x) Ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἐφύλαξεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν μέχρι τῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος χρόνων· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Οὐϊτέλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν, ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, δεξαμένης τῆς πλήθους αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα πάνυ, δόλων αὐτὸς τῆς εὐπορίας ἀμείψασθαι, ἐπεὶ παρικήλισαν τὴν ἰσχυρὰν γολὴν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰξυσίαν ἔχουσιν, ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπείτρεψε. *Ant. lib. xv. c. xi. §. 4.*

K k k

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“ cred vestment might be in their own custody, wrote to *Tiberius Cesar* about it, “ and he granted their request.” From this passage it appears, that *Vitellius* did not put the High Priest’s vestment into the hands of the *Jews* without leave from *Tiberius*. If *Vitellius* actually made this grant, when he was at *Jerusalem* at the Passover, A. D. thirty six, (as *Josephus* says expressly in the first passage,) it is likely the *Jews* had sent their request to him about the time that *Pilate* was removed. And considering the slownesse of *Tiberius* in all his proceedings, it will not be thought strange, that we allow half a year between the *Jews* presenting their request to *Vitellius* in *Syria*, and the return of an answer from the Emperor: It is rather surprizing, it should have come back so soon.

It is possible, that some may except against this argument, and say, that the grant was not made by *Vitellius*, when he was at *Jerusalem*; but that he there received the *Jews* request, then wrote to *Tiberius*, and some time after this put the sacred vestment into their custody. But though *Josephus* does in this last passage seem to place things in this order; yet I should think, that since

in the passage first cited, he says *Vitellius* bestowed this favour upon the *Jews*, whilst at *Jerusalem* at that time; it may be inferred, that the petition had been presented to him, whilst in *Syria*, and that he brought *Tiberius's* grant to *Jerusalem* with him.

However, though this argument should not be allowed me, yet since upon *Pilate's* removal *Marcellus* was sent to govern in *Judea*, it is plain there was some time between *Vitellius's* issuing his orders to *Pilate* to go to *Rome*, and his own Journey to *Jerusalem*. This time might be the space of five or six months, and I apprehend that the probability at least of my reasoning above, that *Vitellius* received the *Jews* petition for keeping the High Priest's vestment in *Syria*, then wrote to *Tiberius*, and delivered it to them, when he was at *Jerusalem*, may very much dispose us to admit the supposition of this space.

And though it should be thought, that at the Passover next after *Pilate's* removal, *Vitellius* did not give the High Priest's vestment into the *Jewish* hands, but only received their petition for that favour; yet this does fully overthrow the opinion of those, who have thought, that *Pilate* was remov-

ed but a few weeks before the death of *Tiberius*. *Vitellius*, after the removal of *Pilate*, was at *Jerusalem* at a Passover; and having been magnificently received by the *Jews*, in requital of their civilities wrote to *Tiberius*, (so we will suppose at present,) that they might have the keeping of the High Priest's garment, and *Tiberius* granted it. This Passover then was not that Passover, at which *Vitellius*, being at *Jerusalem*, heard of the death of *Tiberius*. We are therefore fully assured, that the Passover, which followed the removal of *Pilate*, was not the Passover, A. D. 37, before which *Tiberius* died, but the Passover preceding, namely, that in A. D. 36.

It is certain then, that *Pilate* was removed before the Passover, A. D. 36; and probable, that he was removed about five or six months before it; about *September* or *October*, A. D. 35, about a year and a half before the death of *Tiberius*.

Since *Josephus* says, that *Pilate* spent ten years in *Judea*; he came thither about *October*, A. D. 25, or at least before the Passover, A. D. 26, in the twelfth year of *Tiberius*'s sole Empire, which twelfth year began the nineteenth of *August*, A. D. 25.

This also is perfectly consistent with what *Josephus* says of *Valerius Gratus*, the first Procurator of *Judea* under *Tiberius*; “ that
“ he spent eleven years in *Judea*, and was
“ then succeeded by *Pontius Pilate* (y).”

So that though we should suppose that *Tiberius*’s Proconsular empire began three years before the death of *Augustus*, as Dr. *Pagi* is inclined to do, 28 *August*, A. U. 764. A. D. 11; yet *Pontius Pilate* would even then be in *Judea* in the fifteenth of that Empire, which began *Aug.* 28. A. U. 778. A. D. 25.

There is one difficulty, and but one in all this matter. *Josephus* says, that “ *Pilate*—hastened away to *Rome* in obedience
“ to the commands of *Vitellius*, not daring
“ to refuse. But before he got to *Rome*,
“ *Tiberius* was dead.”

It will be best to take the objection from Mr. *Whiston*: “ Now it is known from
“ *Josephus*, that *Pontius Pilate* was Procurator of *Judea* but ten years; and that
“ he was put out so little before the death
“ of *Tiberius*, that the Emperour was actu-

(y) Καὶ Γράτῳ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἑνδεκά ἐτη διατρέψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ. Πόντιῳ δὲ Πιλάτῳ διάδοχῳ αὐτῷ ἦκεν. *Antiq.* 18. c. 2. §. 2.

“ ally dead, before *Pilate* arrived at *Rome*
 “ to answer for himself. *Tiberius* died
 “ *March* 26. (z) A. D. 37. And *Pilate*
 “ might be out of his office a month, or
 “ six weeks before, suppose it *February*;
 “ from thence we must count ten years
 “ backward for the begining of *Pilate*’s go-
 “ vernment, which will therefore fall into
 “ *February*, A. D. 27. (a).”

This is the difficulty: But I think, it would be very wrong to be determined by one single sentence against all the evidence, which arises from the whole series of a narration. It is extremely evident, that the feast time, in which *Vitellius*, being at *Jerusalem*, heard of the death of *Tiberius*, is not the Passover, which followed next after *Pilate*’s removal. I shall not repeat particulars, but content my self with referring the reader to *Josephus*’s account, already transcribed.

And if this one sentence about the time of *Pilate*’s arrival at *Rome* be inconsistent

(z) I suppose, that Mr. *Whiston* herein follows *Dio*, unless it be a fault of the press: But according to *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, *Tiberius* died the 16th of *March*. Vid. *Pagi Crit.* in *Baron.* A. D. 37. n. ii.

(a) *Whiston*’s short view of the harmony of the four *Evangelists*, pag. 139.

with

with the rest of the story ; it is more reasonable to suppose, that *Josephus* was mistaken in this particular, than in every thing else. He might be misinformed about the time when *Pilate* got to *Rome*, but he could not well be ignorant of some of the most remarkable events in his own countrey ; that is, when *Pilate* left *Judea*, when *Caiaphas*, and his successor *Jonathan*, were put out of the High Priest's office.

But there is no reason to suppose, this particular is inconsistent with the other circumstances mentioned in this relation. Mr. *Whiston* indeed can allow but a *month* or *six weeks* between the time of *Pilate's* removal out of his office, and his arrival at *Rome*. But it ought to be considered, that *Pilate* was not sent to *Rome* in order to take possession of a kingdome, or some new ample province, but to answer for his conduct in his late government. Nor was he sent express : Nor was he recalled by the Emperor himself. But he was sent away by *Vitellius*, a fellow subject, though a superior officer. *Josephus* says, that *Pilate hastened away to Rome*. I have given his words the strongest sense in the translation : but I think, the meaning is no more than that he

went away out of *Judea*. And *Josephus* intimates very plainly the reluctance, with which *Pilate* obeyed *Vitellius*, when he says, that he went, *not daring to refuse*.

There was, if I mistake not, some lawe under the Commonwealth, which required the Governours of provinces to be at *Rome* in three months time after their term of government was expired: But whether that lawe was in force now, I cannot say. However, it is plain it was not observed: *Piso's* conduct is a proof of it. *Germanicus* died in *November*, or (b) sooner: As may be inferred from a passage of *Suetonius*, who says, "that the public sorrow for his death at *Rome* continued even through the Holy Days of *December* (c):" meaning, I suppose, the *Saturnalia*, which were celebrated in the middle of that month. And as *Germanicus* died in *Syria*, some time must

(b) *Basnage* [Ann. Polit. Ec. Vol. 1. p. 221.] supposes he died in *July*. *Decimo quinto Julii Germanicum vitam cum morte commutasse ex Tacito conjecturam facimus: Equestris ordo instituit, uti turmae idibus Juliis imaginem ejus sequerentur.* Ann. 1. 2. c. 83.

(c) Sed ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solatiis ullis, non edictis ullis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit, duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. *Sueton. in Calig. cap. 6.*

be allowed for the carrying the news of his death from thence to *Rome*. *Piso* was gone from the province of *Syria* before the death of *Germanicus*. It is most probable, that he was turned out by *Germanicus* (d). And yet he was not come to *Rome* at the time of the *Megalenian* games of the next year, which were kept on the fifth of *April* (e). It is true, the people of *Rome* were very uneasy at these delays of *Piso*; because they wanted to have him brought to his trial for the death of *Germanicus*, whom he was thought to have poysoned. But yet I do not perceive, that when (f) his trial came on, his long absence from *Rome* is reckon- ed up amongst his other crimes.

And to add no more, the slownesse of *Tiberius* in all his proceedings may help us to account for *Pilate's* delays in going to

(d) Addunt plerique jussu[m] [*Pisonem*] provincia decedere. *Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 70.*

(e) Et quia Ludorum Megalensium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent. Tum exuto justitio, reditum ad munia; & Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis petendae a *Pisone* ultionis; & crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena *Asiae* atque *Achaiae*, adroganti & subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 6. 7.*

(f) *Id. ibid. c. 13.*

Rome, though it be supposed that he made a year and a half of it.

Josephus says, that *Tiberius* was the most dilatory Prince that ever lived (g). His conduct toward *Herod Agrippa* affords a strong proof of it. A servant of *Agrippa* waited upon the Prefect of *Rome*, assuring him he had some informations of great consequence to give the Emperour relating to his master. The Prefect sent him to *Tiberius*; but he, without making any particular enquiry into the matter, only keeps the man safe in custody. *Agrippa* lying under the Emperour's displeasure, was forced to make interest to have his servant heard. And though he then informed the Emperour of words spoken by *Agrippa*, which were little less than treason, and *Agrippa* was immediately thereupon confined; yet he was never called for again, though *Tiberius* lived six months (h) after. *Tacitus* has mentioned another instance well nigh, or quite as remarkable (i). This slow way of think-

(g) Μιλλητὴς εἰ καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας βασιλείων ἢ τυράννων γένεσις. *Antiq. lib. 18. pag. 811. v. 3.*

(h) *Joseph. Ant. 18. c. vii.*

(i) Consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, (De Asinio Gallo loquitur) non erubuit permittere, ultroque incusare casus, qui

thinking and acting was visible in *Tiberius* in his very youth (*k*). And no historian of those times is silent about it. *Pilate*, who had served *Tiberius* ten years, could not be ignorant of what all the world knew. He might have many probable reasons to think, that if he did not come in the Emperour's way, he should never be called for. If enquiry was made for him, an excuse might be found out that would serve for some time. Sickneſſe might be pretended, as a reason for his stay in *Asia*, *Achaia*, or some other place where he was got. Perhaps this was really the case. To be put out of his government by *Vitellius*, upon the complaints of the people of his province, must have been a very grievous mortification. *Eusebius* assures us, that not long after this, *Pilate* made away with himself, out of vexation for his many misfortunes (*l*).

reum abstulissent antequam coram convinceretur. Scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi judicium consulari seni tot consularium parenti. *Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 23.*

(*k*) *Sæva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 57.* Sed mitigavit Sejanus, non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis aperirentur; gnarus eum lentum in meditando. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. c. 71.*

(*l*) Πόντιος Πιλάτος ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ποικίλαις περιπεσὼν συμφοραῖς, ὥς φασιν οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφέαυνοι, αὐτοφονεύτης ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο. *Euseb. Chron. p. 78.*

There

There is another note of time mentioned in St. *John's* Gospel, which ought also to be considered. *John ii. 20.* Then said the *Jews*, Forty and six years was this temple in building : and wilt thou rear it up in three days ?

I suppose, that the objection to be formed upon this text is to this effect. These words were spoken by the *Jews* at the first Passover of our Saviour's public ministry, and the next after his baptism by *John*. The temple, which the *Jews* spoke of, was the temple then before their eyes, and which *Herod* had rebuilt or repaired. But *Herod* did not make the proposal for rebuilding it till the eighteenth year of his reign, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus*. Therefore, if the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* reign, mentioned by St. *Luke*, be the fifteenth of his Proconsular Empire, and not of his sole Empire after the death of *Augustus* ; this temple could not have been so long as forty six years in building, at the time these words were spoken.

To this I might answer, That an objection taken from *Josephus's* account of the time when *Herod* repaired the temple can be of little moment : because in one place he says, that *Herod* repaired the temple in
the

the fifteenth (*m*), and in another the eighteenth year (*n*) of his reign. As the fifteenth year from the death of *Antigonus* is supposed to be coincident with the eighteenth year from the time in which *Herod* was declared King of *Judea* by the Senate of *Rome*; some may be disposed to conclude, that when *Josephus* says *Herod's* proposal to rebuild the temple was made to the *Jews*, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he computes from the time in which *Herod* was declared King by the Roman Senate.

But I do not insist upon this, and am willing to allow, that *Herod* made the proposal to the *Jews* of building their temple in the eighteenth year of his reign from the death of *Antigonus*.

And I think it is as likely, that the *Jews*, in these words recorded by St. *John*, refer to the time of *Herod's* proposal, as to the time in which he began actually to repair the temple. It is most probable, that *Herod* made this offer to the *Jewish* people, when assembled together at one of their great feasts. This therefore would be the most solemn and remarkable epoch of re-

(*m*) *De Bell. l. i. c. 21. init.*

(*n*) *Ant. l. xv. c. xi. init.*

building the temple, which work undoubtedly he set about as soon afterwards as he could.

And it is very common to say, that men do things, when they propose to do them, or begin to do them. Thus *Josephus* says in his *War of the Jews*: “ In the fifteenth
“ year of his reign he [*Herod*] repaired the
“ temple it self, and enclosed a spot of
“ ground about it, of double the compass
“ with that which surrounded it before.
“ This was done at a vast expense, and is a
“ proof of his uncommon magnificence (o).”
We will allow, that the fifteenth year in this place ought to be corrected by his *Antiquities*; where he says, that “ in the eighteenth year of his reign *Herod* projected
“ [or undertook] the rebuilding the temple,
“ which was the greatest of all his works (p).”
But then it appears from hence, that *Herod* is said by *Josephus* in one place to do what in

(o) Πεντικαιδεκάτῳ γὰρ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας, αὐτὸν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκεύασαι, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀντιχίσαλο χώραν, τῆς ἑσθῆς διπλασίαν, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενον τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ· *De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. init.*

(p) Τότε γὰρ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γιγνόμενῃ ἐν αὐτῷ, — ἔργον ἢ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπιβέβατο, τὸν ναὸν τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι· *Ant. lib. xv. cap. xi. init.*

another he is only said at the same time to *propose* or begin.

Supposing, that the *Jews* in this text of *St. John* refer to the time, in which *Herod* made the proposal of rebuilding the temple ; we will see how this term of forty six years will agree with the supposition, that *St. Luke's* fifteenth year of *Tiberius* is the fifteenth of his Proconsular Empire.

If the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire began the 28th of *August*, A. U. 778. A. D. 25. (according to *Dr. Pagi's* opinion) and if *John the Baptist* began to preach in *November* that year, but did not baptize *Jesus* till after he had preached a year and some months, then the *Passover* at which these words were spoken, was the *Passover* A. U. 780. A. D. 27.

Or if the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* reign began A. U. 779. A. D. 26. and *John* began then to preach, and *Jesus* was baptized by him, some time before the *passover* next following ; still these words would be spoke by the *Jews* at the *Passover* A. U. 780. A. D. 27.

The eighteenth year of *Herod's* reign, from the death of *Antigonus*, is supposed to have begun some time in A. U. 734.

Herod

Herod might make his offer to the *Jews* of rebuilding the temple at the feast of Tabernacles, in *November* that year. From *November* A. U. 734. to the Passover A. U. 780. A. D. 27. is almost forty five years and an half. At this time therefore the *Jews* might not improperly say, the temple had been *forty six years in building*. The forty sixth year was then current. And it was to the purpose of the *Jews*, rather to add to, than to diminish the time which had been spent in that work. So that there is no time more suitable to these words of the *Jews* than the Passover A. D. 27. though there is no manner of inconsistency between understanding the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, of his Proconsular Empire, and supposing that these words were spoken at the Passover A. D. 28. And then the temple might have been above forty six years in building.

What has been here said, may be sufficient to shew, that *St. Luke* might compute the reign of *Tiberius* from the epoch of his Proconsular Empire; that if he did, *Jesus* might be said, with great exactness and propriety, to be *about thirty years of age* at his baptism; and that there is nothing in this supposition inconsistent with any other

other notes of time mentioned in the Gospels.

§. IV. Another way of solving this difficulty is this. These words of St. *Luke*, *And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age*, may be understood with some latitude. Jesus might be thirty (q) two years of age or more at this time. The word *about*, *ὥστε*, is often used, where a precise exactness is not intended or expected. *Matth.* xiv. 21. *And they that had eaten were ABOUT five thousand*, *ὥστε πεντακισχίλιοι*, *beside women and children*. And the other Evangelists, in speaking of this miracle, use the same phrase, *Mark* vi. 44. *Luke* ix. 14. *John* vi. 10. St. *Luke* says, *Acts* ii. 41. *And the same day there were added unto them about [ὥστε] three thousand souls*. And with a like latitude does this phrase seem to be

(q) Ex nostrâ quidem Chronologiâ, sequitur Christum jam annum xxxii. evasisse cum ad baptismum accessit. Nil tamen in ea, vel absurdi, vel pugnae aliquid cum Lucâ intelligimus, cum de viro annos duos & triginta nato, cujus aetas dubitanter profertur, non incongrue dici possit, est annorum circiter triginta.—Iterum iterumque monemus, ex phrasi Lucae, Josephi de supremo Herodis anno chronologia damnari nequit. *Basnage Ann. Pol. Ec. Ante Dom. 3. n. vi. vid. etiam ad A. D. 30. num. iv.*

used in many places, as *Luke* i. 56. xxii. 41. xxiii. 44. *John* i. 49. *Acts* v. 36.

It is *Kepler's* opinion, that round and decimal numbers may be used with great latitude: And that a person may be very truly said to be about thirty years of age, if he be above five and twenty, and under thirty five: But that, if a person be said to be about eight and twenty, or about two and thirty years of age, it is to be supposed, he is exactly so old, or not above a month or two more or less (*r*).

And indeed many examples of this use of round numbers may be found in the (3) best writers, even without the particle *ὥστε*, *about*; which

(*r*) Hic receptus mos est linguis omnibus ut circiter 5000 dicamus quicquid est inter 4500 & 5500. Quare sic etiam in nostro exemplo quicquid est inter 25 & 35, id omne circiter 30 dici potest. Alia esset voculae ratio, si praefixisset numero non rotundo. Ut si dixisset circiter 28 annos, vel circiter 32 annos. Quae enim infra decem nominatim exprimuntur, iis apposita vocula *circiter* raro unum annum solidum in dubio ponat, sed fere menses tantum aut dies aliquot numero paucos & infra quantitatem anni solidi. *Keplerus de Anno C. Natali. cap. xii. p. 140. 141.*

(3) Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in QUADRAGINTA deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. *Livius, l. i. c. xv. n. 7.* This refers to *Numa's* reign, of which afterwards *Livie* says: --- Romulus septem & triginta regnavit annos, Numa TRES ET QUADRAGINTA. *ibid. c. xxi.* When the

which of it self seems to be a hint, that the writer does intend to be understood with some latitude.

If we may take St. *Luke*'s words in this manner, there is scarce any need that I should trouble the reader with any calculation, to shew the agreement of his numbers with the time of our Saviour's nativity.

The fifteenth of *Tiberius*'s sole Empire began A. U. 781. A. D. 28. If Jesus was baptized the 6th *January*, A. U. 782. A. D. 29. he would be but some months above thirty three years of age, though he was born so soon as *September* A. U. 748. And if he was born A. U. 749. then, though his baptism be placed in the begining of A. U. 783. A. D. 30. still he would be little more than thirty three years of age.

the City of *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, and the remnant of the people were entering into the Capitol, *Livie* uses these words: Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum; quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur, commendantes virtuti eorum juvenitaeque urbis per TRECENTOS SEXAGINTA annos omnibus bellis victricis, — fortunam. id. lib. v. cap. 40. *Camillus*, not long after, in the very same year, in his speech to dissuade them from removing to *Veii*, says, TRECENTESIMUS SEXAGESIMUS QUINTUS annus urbis, *Quirites*, agitur. ibid. c. 54. vid. eundem Lib. vi. c. 28. n. 7. & *Joan. Cleric.* notar.

All the other notes of time in the Gospels are also very easily reconciled with this fifteenth of *Tiberius's* sole Empire. *Pontius Pilate* came into *Judea* before the Passover in the 12th year of *Tiberius's* sole Empire, A. U. 779. A. D. 26. as has been shewn; and continued there *ten* years. Therefore he was undoubtedly Governour of *Judea* at the commencement of *John the Baptist's* ministry, and till after our Saviour's crucifixion.

As for those words of the *Jews* spoken by them at the first Passover of our Saviour's ministry, *Forty six years has this temple been in building*; it is but to suppose that they referred not to the time when *Herod* made the proposal of repairing the temple in the 18th year of his reign, but to the time when in pursuance of that proposal he actually set about the work, after he had got all things in a readinesse for it, and it will be easily perceived that these words are agreeable to truth.

I do not presume to determine, which of these two solutions is the justest: or whether *St. Luke* intended the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire, when he was made Collegue with *Augustus*, or the fifteenth

teenth of his sole Empire. In order to do this, it would be needful, as I apprehend, to consider the time allotted by the Evangelists to the ministry of *John the Baptist* and our Saviour, the Chronology of the *Acts of the Apostles*, compared with some passages in the Epistles, and also the testimonies of the ancient Christian writers. As I have not here room for all these premises, it may be best to wave the conclusion. All I shall say at present is, that the supposition, that St. *Luke* intended the former of these two epochs, seems to be very much favored by the first Christians; who generally place the crucifixion of Jesus at the Passover of the 15th of *Tiberius's* sole Empire, when the two *Gemini* were Consuls of *Rome*, A. D. 29: And that their testimonies are of great weight with me. I subjoin in the margin (*t*) a few

(*t*) Hujus [*Tiberii*] quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus.—Quae passio hujus exterminii intra tempora LXX. hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Caesare, Coss. Rubellio Gemino & Rufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschae. Tertul. advers. Jud. c. 8. Atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum Tiberii Caesaris, quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni sexaginta. Africanus apud Hieron. Dan. C. ix. Qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Caesaris; cujus anno quinto decimo, id est, duobus Geminis consulibus,—

few of them, for the sake of those who may happen to be unacquainted with these matters.

I apprehend, that each of these is a very good solution of the objection stated at the beginning of this chapter ; though I believe many will think, it is there stated by me in a manner very favorable to an objector. Nay, I imagine I have said what is sufficient to satisfy any reasonable person, that there does not lye any objection against any notes of time mentioned by the Evangelists from the Chronology of other ancient writers. This is sufficient to my present purpose.

I have nothing farther to add here, beside this one observation.

It is no disparagement to the sacred historians, that we are somewhat at a loss to settle precisely the very year of some of those events which they have related. Many important facts related by the best historians are attended with chronological difficulties. I shall give but one instance, an instance with which we are nearly concerned. Jo-

Judaei Christum cruci affixerunt. Lactant. Inst. l. 4. c. 10. Extremis temporibus Tiberii Caesaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judaeis cruciatus est, — duobus Geminis consulibus. *de Mort. Persecut. c. 2.*

sephus

Josephus was a man of a learned education, is a professed writer of history, of the civil and sacred history of his countrey: and is generally allowed to be an accurate writer. He has expressly mentioned two epochs of the commencement of *Herod's* reign, and has given us an account of his death, and the duration of his government. He has writ the history of the whole reign of this Prince. He has related the series of events, and the succession of the Princes and Governors of *Judea* before and after *Herod*. He has put down the years of the *Olympiads*, and the names of the Consuls, when some of the most remarkable of these events happened. Nor have all *Roman* and *Greek* historians been silent about *Herod* or his descendants, and the *Jewish* affairs, near this time: Not to mention *Talmudical*, or other *Jewish* authors. And yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, whether through prejudice, or want of sufficient light, it has happened, that learned men have differed widely about the time of *Herod's* death, and are not yet come to a full agreement.



C H A P. IV.

Of Annas and Caiaphas.

- I. *The difficulty relating to their being both high-priests at the same time considered.* II. *Of Caiaphas being high-priest that year, in which Jesus was crucified.*

§. I.  E have another objection against the account St. Luke gives of the government Judea was under, when John

Luke iii.
1. 2.

the Baptist began to preach. Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being governour of Judea, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee; —
ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS BEING THE HIGH-PRIESTS, *the word of God came unto John.*

It is objected, that it appears from the books of the *Old Testament*, the writings of *Josephus* and other *Jews*, that there was but one

one High-Priest among the *Jews* at a time. St. *Luke* therefore has been mistaken in saying, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were both High-Priests.

Much has been writ upon this subject, and learned men (*a*) have been of divers opinions. I hope I may be excused, if in this place I depart from the method I usually take in considering these objections, and do not set down all the sentiments of writers upon this point.

I shall here therefore do little more than deliver my own sentiments concerning this matter in a few particulars ; which, I hope, will contain a sufficient answer to the objection.

1. It would be extremely unreasonable to impute to St. *Luke* so great a mistake, as the supposing, that there were properly two High-Priests among the *Jews* at the same time. He appears in the rest of his history well acquainted with *Jewish* affairs. It is plain, that he knew very well, there was one who was in the office of High-Priest : ch. xxii. 50. *And one of them smote the ser-*

(*a*) *Vid. Baron. Ann. A. D. 31. num. 8. — Casaubon. in Baron. Exerc. xiii. num. v. Selden. de Success. in Pontif. lib. i. cap. 12. Hammond. Annot. cum multis aliis.*

vant of the HIGH-PRIEST.—54. Then took they him and led him, and brought him to the HIGH-PRIEST'S house.

2. It is likely, that the power, which the Jewish people were possessed of under the Romans, was lodged chiefly in the hands of two persons : and it may be supposed, the Jews chose to have it so. When they had resolved upon the war with the Romans, Josephus says : “ They assembled in the temple, and appointed several Generals. And “ Joseph the son of Gorion, and the High-
“ Priest Ananus were chosen to be supreme
“ governours (b) of all things in the city.” I have not observed this passage quoted by any upon this occasion : Whether it be material or not, the reader will judge. But it has inclined me to suppose, that about this time there were usually among the Jews two persons, to whom the government was chiefly committed. I must however advertise the reader, that Ananus, here called High-Priest, was not then in the office of the Priesthood.

(b) Καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, στρατηγὸς ἀπέδειξαν τὸν πολέμῳ πλείονας· ἠρέθη δὲ Ἰώσηπτος υἱὸς Γωρίωνος, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανός, τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων αὐτοκρατορεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνεγείρειν. De Bell. 2. c. 20. §. 3.

3. Since

3. Since *Caiaphas* was now properly High-Priest, and *Annas* had been so: if the later was now in some post of authority, they might be both said very properly to be High-Priests at this time. *Josephus* often calls *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* Presidents or Governours of *Syria* (c), though *Saturninus* only was President, and *Volumnius* the Emperour's Procurator, that is, the officer that took care of the revenue.

There happened a disturbance between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* in the reign of *Claudius*. *Cumanus* the Procurator of *Judea* was not able to compose it: appeals were made to *Quadratus* President of *Syria*. He having punished several "sent two others" of the most powerful men of the *Jews*, as "also THE HIGH PRIESTS *Jonathan* and "*Ananias*, and *Ananus* the son of this last "mentioned person, and some other considerable men to *Cesar* (d)." I take this

(c) Παλλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατυρήνῳ ἰλθόντα καὶ Οὐολέμνιον τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμόνας. *Ant. l. 16. c. x. p. 741. v. 1. 2.* Τοῖς Καίσαρι ἡγεμόσιν Σατυρήνῳ τε καὶ Οὐολεμνίῳ — ἐπὶ τε Σατυρήνῳ καὶ Οὐολεμνίῳ τῶν Συρίας ἐπισατέντων. *ib. c. ix. p. 734. v. 25. § 37.*

(d) Δύο δὲ ἐτίμους τῶν δυνατωτάτων, καὶ τὸς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰηνάθην καὶ Ἀναΐαν, τὸν τε τέτῳ παῖδα Ἀνανον, — ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα. *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. xii. §. 6.*

passage of *Josephus* (which has been often cited by learned men) to be very near parallel with *St. Luke's*.

Jonathan had been High-Priest, but had been put out long before now by (e) *Vitellius* : *Ananias* was (f) now High-Priest. In like manner, in the case in question, *Annas* had formerly been High-Priest, but *Caia-phas* was now in that office.

I am the more inclined to think, *Josephus's* stile here parallel with *St. Luke's*; because it appears from another place, where *Josephus* mentions this affair, that *Ananus*, the third person named, was then Captain of the Temple (g). From whence I conclude, that the three persons here mentioned, were then in the three chief posts of the *Jewish* civil and sacred Government. He speaks indeed of two others, whom he calls the *most powerful of the Jews*. But I apprehend they were so only in respect of their influence. It is reasonable to suppose, that the persons named were in the most eminent stations.

(e) *Ant.* 18. c. 6. §. 3.

(f) *Ib.* 20. cap. 4. p. 886. v. 41.

(g) *Ant.* 20. c. 5. p. 889. v. 36.

There is another particular, in which these two passages are parallel: *Jonathan*, who had been High-Priest, is named before *Ananias*, then in office: The two names stand in the same order in *St. Luke*. I suppose, that these propositions may afford a clear solution of this difficulty.

The learned *Selden* conjectures, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* are not mentioned in this place by *St. Luke* on account of any sacred function they discharged, but as they were the two persons who had then the chief authority under the *Romans* in the civil administration of the *Jewish* affairs: that *Annas* was now Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, and *Caiaphas* the Father of it; and that therefore *Annas* is first named, as being in the more honorable station in the civil government. He supposes, that these two posts might then be annual; that *Annas* was Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, when *John the Baptist* began his ministry; and that *Caiaphas* was Prince, when our Saviour was crucified. And therefore *St. John* says particularly, that *Caiaphas* was High-Priest *that* *John xi. 49.* *same year*: But that afterwards, when *Pe-* *51.* *ter* and *John* were called before the council, *Annas*, who is first named, [*Acts iv. 6.*] was

was Prince, and Caiaphas, Father of the Sanhedrim (b).

Selden offers these thoughts, as conjectures only. I hope therefore, it will not be deemed presumption, to be of another mind, or to offer some different thoughts upon this subject.

As Caiaphas was now in the office of the Priesthood, when John the Baptist began his ministry; I suppose that Caiaphas is men-

(b) Hinc, si conjecturae venia detur, existimarim, Annam & Caiapham Pontifices simul a D. Luca dictos, non qua sacrae functionis dignitas illo nomine denotatur, sed qua civilis eorum administratio, ut & ceterorum quibuscum conjunguntur, ad ipsum annum, de quo verba ibi fiunt, indicandum denotaretur. Scilicet Annam tunc fuisse Synedrii Principem, Caiapham verò ejusdem Patrem.—Ita demum cur Caiaphas, quem sacram dignitatem ipsam velut Aharonis successorem gessisse intervallo illo ex Josepho docemur, Annae postponatur, ratio non inepta reddi potest. Etenim Principi Synedrii Pater Synedrii erat semper secundarius. Sed vero nec Principis nec Patris Synedrii munus semper perpetuum erat, sed ab alio ad alium, pro re nata translatum. Quod ex titulo Talmudico Horaijoth, cap. iii. aliisque Magistrorum commentariis elicitur. Et forsitan tunc temporis annuum erat.—Atque illinc forsitan altera illa quaestio de Caiaphae pontificatu suo anno apud D. Joannem designato solvenda.—Adeo ut Anno Tiberii xv, seu in loco D. Lucae, Annas esset Princeps Synedrii, Caiaphas Pater, anno vero Passionis Annas Pater, Caiaphas Princeps; postmodum vero Annas, inter suos utpote eminentissimus, itidem Princeps, & Caiaphas Pater, ut in Actorum quarto. Selden de Suc. in Pontif. l. i. c. xii.

tioned by St. *Luke* on the account of the High Priesthood, and the civil authority joined with it; and that, the *Jewish* government being at this time under the *Romans Aristocratical*, *Annas* is mentioned together with *Caiaphas*, as being the other chief person in the *Jewish* administration. But I am of opinion, that we have not sufficient light at present to determine, what post of honour *Annas* was in, though that of Prince of the *Sanhedrim* be as likely as any. However, I cannot easily persuade my self, that during the *Jews* subjection to the *Romans*, the Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, or any other *Jew*, not in the High Priesthood, was equal; much less superior to him who enjoyed that office; unless, when there was some *Jewish* Prince appointed Governour of the temple by the Roman Emperour. If *Josephus's* authority be sufficient to decide this matter, it is plain the High-Priest had the chief power in the *Jewish* nation under the *Romans*. This may be concluded from hence, that he has preserved the succession of the High-Priests, and of them only, to the destruction of the temple. But if there had been, after the removal of *Archelaus*, any persons in an office of superior authority

ty to the High-Priest, he would have also given us their names. We should also, in all probability, have met with some accounts in his history, of the putting out of these officers by the Roman Governours, when they did not behave to satisfaction. And indeed *Josephus* seems to me expressly to say, that the High-Priest was the chief person in the *Jewish* nation under the *Romans*. Having at the conclusion of his *Antiquities* reckoned up the *Jewish* High-Priests, he says: "Some of these administred affairs " under *Herod* the King, and his son *Archelaus*: after their death the administra- " tion was *aristocratical*, but the president- " ship of the nation was committed to the " High-Priests (i)." *Joseph. Antiq. xxi. c. 9. fin.*

Farther, I apprehend no mystery at all in the order in which these two persons are named by *St. Luke*. Ancient writers seem not to be very solicitous about the order in which they name persons who are near equal (k). I suppose that *Caiaphas* was at this

(i) Καί τινες μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπολιτεύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου βασιλεύοντος, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχιλαῦ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ δὲ τῆς τέτταρτης, ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προεδρίαν τῆς ἰουδαίας οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πεποιμένοντο. *Joseph. Antiq. xx. c. 9. fin.*

(k) Thus *Herodotus* says, that *Cambyfes* was the son of *Cy-*

this time chief in dignity and authority in the government : But that nevertheſſe, there is no abſurdity or impropriety in naming *Annas* firſt, inasmuch as he was father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, and was paſt the prieſthood.

§. II. It will perhaps be expected I ſhould here ſay ſomewhat to a text of *St. John*, which has a relation to this matter, and which does appear at firſt to be a very difficult place. *And one of them named Cai-* John xi. 49.
aphas, being HIGH-PRIEST (1) THAT ---52.
SAME YEAR, ſaid unto them, ye know no-
thing at all, nor conſider that it is expedi-
ent for us, that one man ſhould die for the
people, and that the whole nation periſh not.

rus and *Caffandana* : and preſently after, that he was ſon of this woman and *Cyrus*. Παρίλαβε τὴν βασιλῆην Καμύσης, Κύρη ἰὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσαυδάνης. — ταύτης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἰὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρη Καμύσης. Euterp. init. *Joſephus* ſays, *Herod* had two ſons by a Samaritan woman, namely, *Antipas* and *Archelaus*. Soon after, *Archelaus* is mentioned firſt, ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ Σαμαρείων ἔθνος μία, καὶ παῖδες αὐτῇ Ἀντίπας καὶ Ἀρχέλαος. — Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρὰ τινι ἰδιώτῃ τροφᾷ εἶ- χον. *Antiq.* 17. c. 1. §. 3. *Joſephus* ſays again, that *Herod* called to the Council at *Berytus*, *Salome* and *Pheroras*, *De Bell.* l. 1. c. 27. §. 3. Afterwards *Tero* the old ſoldier complains to *Herod*, that he hearkened to *Pbtroras* and *Salome* againſt his own ſons. *ib.* §. 4.

(1) Ἀρχιερεὺς ὡς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνῳ

M m m

And

And this spake he, not of himself: but being (m) HIGH-PRIEST THAT YEAR, HE PROPHESED, that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.

There are here two things, which need to be explained; *first*, why *Caiaphas* is said to be High-Priest *that same year*: And *secondly*, what is meant by his *propheying*, being *High-Priest*.

Some have thought, that the phrase, *being High-Priest that year*, implies that St. *John* supposed the High Priesthood was annual. And upon this account they have been willing to charge him with a great mistake. For *Pontius Pilate* was Governour of *Judea* ten years, and *Caiaphas* was put into the Priesthood by *Valerius Gratus*, *Pilate's* predecessor; and continued in it, till after *Pilate's* removal. *Selden* thought that by High-Priest is meant the chief man of that nation, and particularly the Prince of the Sanhedrim, which post might be at that time annual. For my own part, I think, *that year* (as it ought to have been rendered, and as the same phrase is render'd *ver. 51.*

(m) Ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν; γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῃ, προεφύτευσεν.

and

and not *that same year* ;) denotes no more than *at that time*. It is very common to put *years* and *days* in the plural number, for time. *After many DAYS thou shalt be visited : In the later YEARS thou shalt come into the land that is brought back from the sword, &c. Then shall the offerings of Judah be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the DAYS of old, and as in the former YEARS.* There are other texts perhaps more apposite to our purpose. *And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in THOSE DAYS.* *And he shall dwell in that city, until the death of the high priest that shall be in THOSE DAYS.* Philo uses the word *day*, in the singular number, in the same manner: Speaking of the trial of Jealousy, he says, the man and the woman shall go up to the temple, “ and the man standing before the altar shall declare the cause of “ his jealousy in the presence of him who “ is Priest at that (*n*) day.” All that St. John says therefore is, that *Caiaphas* was High-Priest at that time, or the High-Priest of that time. And if we ought to

(*n*) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παρόντος τοῦ καὶ ἱερέως τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερωμένου, δηλώτω τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἅμα· κ. λ. *De Legibus special. p. 785. C.*

suppose any thing emphatical in the expression, (which yet I cannot see,) I apprehend it arises from the distance between the time of the event and the writing. St. *John* writing his Gospel a considerable time after the crucifixion of Jesus, when many might be supposed to be ignorant who was then High-Priest; and there having been under the *Romans* frequent removals made in that office; it was natural enough for him to express this circumstance with some peculiar emphasis, or to mention it more than once.

The other difficulty to be considered lies in the words: *Being High-Priest that year he prophesied*. Here I cannot perceive the sense of this observation, supposing with *Selden*, High-Priest to stand for Prince of the Sanhedrim. By *prophesying* I understand in this place, declaring the event; which it was in a peculiar manner the office of the Priest to do, when he was enquired of, or when God was enquired of (A) by him concerning

(A) *Then the king sent to call Abimelech the PRIEST the son of Abitub.—And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the son of Jesse,—and hast ENQUIRED of God for him? 1 Sam. xxii. 11--13. And David said to Abiathar the PRIEST, Bring hither the Ephod. Then said David,*

cerning any important matters under deliberation. Thus *Josephus* says: "But the *Philistins*, when they heard that the *Hebrews* had made *David* King, brought forth their army against him.—But the King (o) of the *Jews* (for he allowed not himself to do any thing without prophesy, and the command of God, and assurance of the event from him;) required the High-Priest to foretell him, what was the will of God, and what would be the issue of the battle. When he had prophesied victory and power, he led out his forces against the *Philistins*." And presently after: "The King (p) of the *Israelites* enquiring again of God, concerning the event of the battle, the

vid, O Lord God of Israel, --- Will the men of Keilah deliver me into his band? Will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard? ---And the Lord said, he will come down. 1 Sam. xxiii. 10---12: And when Saul enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor BY URIM, nor by prophets. ch. xxviii. 6.

(o) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς· ἔδεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ προφητείας, καὶ τὸ κελεύσαι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων λαθεῖν ἐγγυητὴν ἐκείνου, αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν· ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα, τί δοκεῖ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ποδαπὸν ἔσται τὸ τῆς μάχης τέλος, προλέγειν αὐτῷ· προφητεύσαντι δὲ νίκην καὶ κράτος, ἐξάγει τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰς Παλαιστίνης· *Antiq.* 7. c. 4. §. 1.

(p) Πάλιν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῶς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐρομένη τὸν Θεόν, περὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξόδου, προφητεύει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, κ. λ. *ibid.*

M m m 3

" High-

“ High-Priest prophesied,” that he should do so and so, and then would have a sure and easy victory: referring to the story told, 2 Sam. v. 22—25.

Let us now apply these remarks in a general paraphrase of this text of St. *John*. Some of the council, of a different opinion from those, whose words are recorded, *ver.* 48. having, as may be supposed, from considerations taken from the dispositions of the people, the temper of the Roman Governour, and other circumstances of their affairs, expressed some doubts about the success of a prosecution of Jesus, and the consequences of taking away his life: “ *Caia-* “ *phas*, who was the High-Priest at that “ time, when it came to his turn to deliver “ his opinion, said: You have hitherto “ talked very weakly and ignorantly: You “ may proceed in the case before you without hesitation. The taking (*q*) away “ the life of this man will be so far from “ being ruinous to the whole nation in this “ countrey and in other parts, as some of “ you fear, that it will be much for the ad-

(*q*) Ὑμεῖς ἐκ οἴδατε ἕδεν· ἐδὲ διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι συμφέρει ἡμῖν, ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τῆς λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀποληται.

“ *vantage*

“ vantage of the people of God every where.
 “ This however he said, not merely of him-
 “ self: but being then High-Priest, he
 “ foretold the issue and event of their coun-
 “ sels, and of the death of Jesus: And that
 “ it (r) would come to passe that Jesus
 “ would die for that nation, and not for
 “ that nation only, but that through his
 “ death he would also gather together in
 “ one the children of God which were scat-
 “ tered abroad.”

(r) Προφῆτευσεν ὅτι ἔμελλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆ ἔθ-
 νος, κ. λ.





C H A P. V.

Of the different names given to Herodias's first husband by the Evangelists and Josephus.



Come now to consider the difficulty hinted above (A) arising from the different names given by the Evangelists and Josephus to the first husband of *Herodias*: whom Matth. xiv. they call *Philip*, *Josephus*, *Herod*. I need 3. not transcribe here the passages of the Gospels, or of *Josephus*, relating to this affair. Mark vi. 17. If the reader will be pleased to look back (B) Luke iii. 19. he will find what is sufficient for the purpose.

As *Josephus*, speaking of this unlawful marriage of *Herod* the Tetrarch and *Herodias*, calls her first husband *Herod*; so it is certain that according to him, *Philip*, whom Luke iii. 1. St. *Luke* styles *Tetrarch of Iturea and the*

(A) f. 22. note (C).

(B) p. 20.—24.

region

region of *Trachonitis*, could not be the person: for *Josephus* says, that *Herodias's* daughter *Salome* was married to *Philip*, *Herod's* son, the *Tetrarch* (a) of *Trachonitis*. Nor is there any mention made in *Josephus* of any other son of *Herod* the Great, who was called *Philip*, beside the forementioned *Tetrarch* of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*.

I have no reason to say any thing more of *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, than I have done already; having shewn in another place (c), that *St. Luke* has given a just account of him. But I will here give a brief history of *Herod*, to whom *Josephus* says *Herodias* was first married; because I apprehend it may be needful for some readers, and it will be of great use to us upon this occasion.

Herod was the son of *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne* daughter of *Simon* the High-Priest. After *Herod* the Great had killed his two sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, he repented of what he had done, and resolved to take special care of their children. And in particular, he contracted *Herodias*, daughter of *Aristobulus*, to the above men-

(a) Ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Σαλώμη Φιλίππῳ γαμιῖται, Ἡρώδου παῖδὶ τῷ Τετραρχῇ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος. *Antiq.* 18. c. vi. §. 4.

(c) page 20.

tioned

tioned *Herod* (b). There happened indeed afterwards some alterations in the dispositions made by *Herod* the Great at this time; but however this (c) contract remained good, as may be concluded from hence: that this contract is not mentioned among those alterations, and because in the account *Josephus* gives of *Herod* the Tetrarch's unlawful marriage with *Herodias*, her first husband, whom she left in his life-time, is expressly said to be *Herod* son of *Mariamne* the High-Priest's daughter.

Herod the Great in one of his wills, made after this contract, appointed the said *Herod* his successor, in case *Antipater* should die before him. But afterwards, in the enquiries concerning *Antipater*'s design to poison his father, it appeared that *Mariamne*, mother of *Herod*, had been concerned in the same design: whereupon *Herod* the Great put away *Mariamne*, altered the clause of his will relating to her son, and took away

(b) Ἐνεγγύητό τε εἰς γάμον, — τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶν Ἀριστοβέλου θυγατέρων, Ἡρώδην παῖδὶ τῷ αὐτῷ γίνεταί δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῆς τῆς Ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς. *Ant. lib. 17. cap. i. p. 751. v. 1. vid. etiam p. 1027. v. 36.*

(c) *Vid. Joseph. p. 751. v. 20. p. 1028. v. 35.*

the priesthood from her father (*d*) *Simon*. After this we hear no more of *Herod*, till we have the account of *Herodias's* leaving him.

Here then lies our difficulty. The Evangelists call *Herodias's* first husband *Philip*. It is objected, that they must mean *Philip* the Tetrarch. But it is plain from *Josephus*, that *Philip* the Tetrarch was not her first husband, but *Herod*, son of *Herod* the Great, by *Mariamne* the High-Priest's daughter.

In answer to this: 1. It has been said by some, that *Josephus* was mistaken. *Basnage* (*e*) of *Flottemanville*, whom I have often

(*d*) Καὶ διὰ τὰδε Ἡρώδης ἐκείνην τε ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐξήλειψε τῶν διαθηκῶν, εἰς τὸ βασιλεύσαι μεμνημένων ἐκείνης. καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλατο Σίμωνα τὸν τῷ Βοηθῆ. *Antiq.* 17. c. iv. p. 757. v. 43. *vid. etiam* p. 1032. v. 33.

(*e*) Nulla ergo excusatio Josepho parari potest. Cujus narrationi, illa Evangelistarum, missa vel eorum ἀναμαρτησία, dubio procul est anteposenda, cum testes & plures, & antiquiores fuerint, & rationes longè graviore habuerint diligentius inquirendi in causas mortis illatae Joanni, quas ducunt ex Herodiadis, Philippo legitimo viro, contra jus & fas, ab Antipa ereptae odio, in Joannem, scelestas nuptias damnantem. Equidem Josephus tenetur ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ deprehensus, cum ipse docuerit, Herodi Magno post mortem Antipatri, nil filiorum fuisse, praeter Archelaum, Herodem Antipam, & Philippum, quos inter, regnum diviserat suum. Nec vero

often quoted, is fully perswaded, that *Philip*, Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*, was *Herodias's* first husband. Beside that the Evangelists lived nearer the time of the event than *Josephus*, he says, they had more reason to be well informed in this matter than *Josephus*, and they are three to one. Mr. *Basnage* does not deny, *Herod's* having had a son of his own name by the High-Priest's daughter : but he says, this son died before his father. And he thinks, that *Josephus* says as much, and has assured us, that after *Antipater* was dead, *Herod* had no sons left, beside *Archelaus*, *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, betwixt whom he divided his kingdom. And therefore *Josephus* is guilty of a most flagrant self-contradiction in making the son of the High-Priest's daughter, *Herodias's* husband. Besides, there is no mention of this son in *Herod the Great's* last will ; which would be very strange, if he

vero simile est in testamento, hujus Herodis, Herodiadi, ut ait Josephus, matrimonio conjuncti, parentem non meminisse, ne expers partis esset, de bonis ejus ; eo magis, quo multa Salome forori suae praedia moriendo dederat Herodes. Id faciles Josepho largiemur, ex Simonis Pontificis filia procreatum Herodi regi filium fuisse, paterno nomine donatum. Parenti superstitem fuisse, negabimus, ex alto historiae Judaicae silentio, in quâ vir ille partes egisset suas.—Erravit igitur Josephus.—*Basn. Ann. Polit. Eccles. A. D. 29. n. iii.*

was

was then alive, especially considering that *Herod* left his sister *Salome* a very good estate in land.

This is *Basnage's* solution: but, in my opinion, a very poor one. I will not be positive, that *Josephus* has made no mistake in the accounts of *Herod's* family: because where a man has issue by seven or eight wives, as *Herod* had, perhaps a writer had need to have a head peculiarly turned for genealogy, to be secure from all errors in giving an account of his children and all their marriages; especially considering how much the (D) female descendents of *Herod* encreased

(D) Beside *Herodias*, her three nieces, daughters of her brother *Herod Agrippa*, would employ the attention of an historian. *Bernice*, the eldest, after the death of her first husband, *Herod King of Chalcis*, married *Polemon King of Cilicia*. [or, as some read it, *Lycia*.] "But this marriage lasted not long, for *Bernice* left *Polemon*." Οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλὰ Βερνίκη δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, κατέλειπε τὸν Πολέμωνα. *Antiq.* 20. c. 6. §. 3. "*Mariamne* [the "second daughter] about the same time, having divorced "*Archelaus*, the son of *Helchias*, married *Demetrius the Abarch of the Jews at Alexandria*." τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμνη, παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχίλαον, συνώκησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ. —τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀλαβάρχειαν αὐτὸς εἶχε. *ibid.* *Drusilla*, the youngest, left *Axixus King of the Emesenes*, and married *Felix*: as has been shewn already, p. 41. 42. I have put down here all these instances for the sake of a remark. Our Saviour

encreased the task in a short time by leaving or divorcing their husbands. But I can never perswade my self, that *Josephus*, a professed writer of *Jewish* history, could be guilty of so many mistakes, as are included in a mistake about *Herodias's* first husband. If he was not furnished with the events of all *Herod's* children, yet he must certainly know the marriages of the last Princes in the land of *Israel*, his own countrey. Could he be ignorant, who was *Philip* the Tetrarch's wife? who was the first husband of *Herod* the Tetrarch's second wife, and of

our says : *Whoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.* Mark x. 11. 12. It may be inferred from hence, that the *Jewish* women, as well as the men, did then practise divorces, and after that marry to others. These instances from *Josephus* confirm the inference. We may be assured, these Ladies were not singular. Their examples would be followed by others : and, it is likely, were supported by many precedents. If the women took this licence, what would not the men do ! Our historian *Josephus* affords us a double example of this practise. His first wife left him, *vit.* §. 75. And he married another. Her he divorced, after he had had three children by her, because he was not pleased with her manners. And then he married a third, by whom also he had children : καὶ ὃν δὴ καιρὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, μὴ ἀρεσκόμενῃ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἥθεσιν, ἀπέπεμψάμην, τριῶν παιδῶν γινομένην μητέρα. §. 76.

Agrippa

Agrippa the Great's sister? Was not *Herodias*'s leaving her first husband in all respects a most notorious action? Was not *Josephus* well acquainted with her nephew, *Agrippa* the younger?

Basnage says, *Josephus* has assured us, *Herod* had but three sons left after the death of *Antipater*. I think, *Josephus* has never said any such thing. If he had, he would be a writer of no weight; since he has afterwards expressly said, that *Herodias*'s first husband was *Herod* the son of the High-Priest's daughter. And if *Josephus* had assured us, that *Herod* the Great had but three sons left after *Antipater* was dead; *Basnage* might have spared his arguments from the omission of *Herod* the High-Priest's daughters son, and the large estate left to *Salome* in *Herod* the Great's last will.

Indeed, there is no reason to conclude that *Herod*, son of the High-Priest's daughter, died before his father: but a great deal of reason to suppose he survived him, beside the express mention made of him long afterwards, as the husband of *Herodias*. For in the will his father made after the enquiries into *Antipater*'s conspiracy, and therefore in the last year of his life, this said *He-*

rod's

rod's succession was struck out, as *Josephus* expressly says (f). And though there be no mention made in the account of *Herod's* last will, of any other sons by name, beside those to whom he left a part of his territories; yet it is very likely, there were others, to whom he left presents (g). It is not strange, that *Herod* should leave no towns or lordships to this son (though living) in his last will, since his mother had been lately detected in a great crime. Nay, it is not strange, that three sons only of *Herod* had Tetrarchies, and the rest, though never so many, only sums of money or revenues. As for the towns bequeathed by *Herod* to his sister *Salome*; she had been always faithful to him, and it was fit she should have some extraordinary testimony of his affection. *Josephus* himself (h) assigns this as the reason

(f) See before, p. 788.

(g) *Josephus's* account of *Herod's* last will is, that he gave to *Herod Antipas*, *Galilee*, &c. to *Philip*, *Gaulonitis*, &c. to *Archelaus* the Kingdom, to *Salome* his sister, *Jamnia*, &c. and that he took care of all the rest of his family, leaving them handsome legacies of money, or ample revenues. Πρεβόησι δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅποσοι συγγενεῖς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, χρημάτων τε δόσεσι καὶ προσόδων ἀναφοραῖς, ἑκάστους ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καθιστάμενος. *Antiq.* 17. c. 8. §. 1.

(h) Σαλώμην τε ἐπὶ μίγα ἐπλέτιζεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν, εὖναι τε ἰν πᾶσι πρὸς αὐτὸν διαμεινηκυῖαν, κ. τ. λ. *Antiq.* 17. c. vi. §. 1.

of

of that regard shewed to her in *Herod's* wills.

And *Philo* says, that when *Pilate* dedicated shields, and placed them in *Herod's* palace at *Jerusalem* (*i*), the *Jews* got (*k*) four of the King's sons, and other his descendents, to make use of their interest with *Pilate* to remove the shields. If *Philo* may be relied upon in this matter, and if we may understand the word *sons* in the most proper sense, (which it seems most reasonable to do,) and not for grandchildren, or other descendents; then *Herod* must have left behind him at least two sons, beside the three, betwixt whom he divided his dominions: For *Archelaus* certainly was not one of the four sons, whom *Philo* speaks of, because he had been banished into *Gaul* long before *Pilate's* government. Supposing then, that *Herod* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Philip* Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, were two of the four, there must have been two other sons of *Herod*, beside them and *Archelaus*.

But however *Philo* ought to be understood, I can never think it a fair way of

(i) Ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱερόπολιν Ἡρώδου βασιλείοις.
Philo de legat. in Cai. p. 1034. A.

(k) Προσησάμενοι τῆς τι βασιλείας υἱῶν τέτταρας, — καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπογόνων· *id. ibid.*

getting rid of this difficulty, to charge *Josephus* with a great many gross blunders.

2. I proceed therefore to lay before the reader another solution, which has been in the main approved of already by many learned men.

(1.) The Evangelists and *Josephus* are in the right, and none of them have committed any mistake in this matter. I have just shewn, that there is no reason to think *Josephus* was mistaken. And it is as unreasonable to suppose, that the Evangelists are mistaken. They all agree in calling *Herodias's* first husband *Philip*. And they appear to be fully master of the history of *Herod* the Great's family. One or other of them have told us, that *Archelaus* succeeded his father in *Judea*; that *Herod* (who was also called *Antipas*,) was Tetrarch of *Galilee*, *Philip* of *Trachonitis*. If they had not been well informed, some errors would have appeared here. St. *Luke* has given the proper titles and characters to all the other descendants of *Herod*, whom he has mentioned afterwards; *Herod* the King, *Agrippa*, *Bernice*, *Drusilla*.

They speak of this unlawful marriage of *Herodias*, as a matter they were well acquainted

quainted with; and *Josephus* concurs with them in the main.

(2.) The Evangelists do not intend *Philip* the Tetrarch, but the same person that *Josephus* does. If they had intended *Philip* the Tetrarch, when they speak of *Herodias's* husband, they would have given him his title. This is their constant method. St. *Matthew* says, that Jesus was born *in the days of Herod the king*. Matt. ii. 1. St. *Luke*, that the vision of *Zacharias* was *in the days of Herod the king of Judea*. Luke i. 5. In the account of our Saviour's return from *Egypt*, St. *Matthew* says, that *Joseph* heard that *Archelaus* did reign in *Judea*, *in the room of his father Herod*. Matth. ii. 22. St. *Luke* gives the proper titles to all the princes, whom he mentions at the beginning of *John the Baptist's* ministry. In the account of *Pilate's* sending our Saviour to *Herod*, it appears plainly, that he was the Tetrarch of *Galilee*, to whom he was sent, *Luke* xxiii. 6—8. When St. *Luke* begins the history of *Herod Agrippa*, he calls him *the king*. Acts xii. 1. He gives also the title of king to *Agrippa*. Acts xxv. 13.

Indeed the church at *Jerusalem* in their prayer to God give *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*

no titles. *Acts* iv. 27. And I believe, none would have them there at length. In the account of the death of *John the Baptist*, and of this marriage, all the Evangelists do ever give *Herod* his title : *Matt.* xiv. 1. *Mark* vi. 14. *Luke* iii. 19. ix. 7. But not one of them has given the *Philip*, whom they mention, any title ; but that *Herod* had laid hold of *John*, and put him in prison for *Herodias* sake, his brother *Philip's* wife, *Matth.* xiv. 3. or bound him in prison for *Herodias* sake, his brother *Philip's* wife, *Mark* vi. 17. Again : *Herod the Tetrarch* being reprov'd by him for *Herodias* his brother *Philip's* wife. *Luke* iii. 19. I make no doubt therefore, but that *Philip*, *Herodias's* first husband, was a private person, who lived, in all probability, at *Jerusalem* ; and that *Herod* the Tetrarch, in his way to *Rome*, there fell in love with her, and made the contract. *Philip* then, whom the Evangelists speak of, as the first husband of *Herodias*, was a private person, invested with no titles or dignities : so is *Josephus's Herod*, as appears from the history I have given of him. And it is not unlikely, that this was one reason, among others, why *Herod* the Tetrarch's proposal of marriage

riage was so soon accepted by *Herodias*, an ambitious woman.

The only difficulty therefore concerning this matter arises from the name. *Josephus* calls this person *Herod*, the Evangelists *Philip*: Moreover *Philip* was the name of the Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*; therefore it may be thought strange, that *Herod* the Great should have another son called *Philip*.

This difficulty will be cleared by the following considerations. It is not at all strange, that *Herod* the Great should have two sons called by the same name, when he had children by seven or eight wives. Even according to *Josephus*, the eldest son was called *Antipater*, and another, who was the youngest, *Antipas*, or *Herod Antipas*, the Tetrarch of *Galilee*. These are but one and the same name, only a different termination. *Josephus* mentions three of *Herod's* sons of the name of *Herod*, without any addition (1). But yet it is highly probable, they had some other names, by which they were distinguished, though *Josephus* has not mentioned them. *Grotius* (m) thinks it

(1) *Vid. Jos. Ant. l. 17. c. 1. l. 18. c. 6. §. 4. De Bell. l. 1. c. xxviii. & Geneal. Herod. in Reland. Palest. Illustr.*

(m) *In Matth. xix. 3.*

very probable, there was a *Philip* among the ancestors of *Herod* the Great, after whom two of his sons were named *Philip* : as there were two of them, who bore the name of *Antipater* or *Antipas* from his father.

Though there was another brother by the same father, namely *Philip* the Tetrarch, called by the same name with *Herodias's* husband ; yet it was not necessary for the Evangelists to take notice of it. When writers relate a well known fact, near the time in which it happened, whilst there is no danger of persons making a mistake, this precaution is often neglected. *Dio's* account of *Archelaus's* removal is thus : “ *Herod* of “ *Palestine* being accused by his brothers, “ was banished to the other (n) side the “ *Alps.*” *Herod* was the name, by which the Tetrarch of *Galilee* was usually called. And he also was afterwards banished to the other side the *Alps*. Yet I believe, no one ever charged *Dio* with a mistake here, as to the person he speaks of, or suspected, that he thought the Tetrarch of *Galilee* was banished from his dominions A. U. 759. I

(n) “Ο, τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν, ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ὑπερωρίσθη. lib. 55. p. 767. B.

will transcribe here an observation of the learned and judicious (o) *Prideaux*. “ He
“ [*Ptolemee Lathyrus*] was succeeded by
“ *Cleopatra* his daughter, and only legiti-
“ mate child. Her proper name was *Bere-*
“ *nice*, and so *Pausanias* calls her. For it
“ is to be noted, that as all the males of
“ this family had the common name of *Pto-*
“ *lemee*, so all the females of it had the
“ name of *Cleopatra*, and besides had other
“ proper names to distinguish them from
“ each other. Thus *Selene* was called *Cle-*
“ *opatra*, and so were also two other of
“ her sisters. And in like manner, this
“ daughter of *Lathyrus*, whose proper name
“ was *Berenice*, bore also that of *Cleopatra*,
“ according to the usage of her family.
“ The observing of this will remove many
“ obscurities and difficulties in the *Egyptian*
“ history.”

The Evangelists do all agree in calling *Herodias*’s first husband *Philip*: and they appear fully masters of their story. It is therefore highly reasonable to suppose, he was called *Philip* as well as *Herod*. I shall put a case resembling this. *Josephus* al-

(o) *Conn. Part II. year before Christ 81. p. 396.*

ways calls *Livia*, *Augustus's* wife (*p*), *Julia*; though that was the proper name of *Augustus's* daughter, without ever giving the least hint of his reason of it. It is true, that though the Roman historians do generally call her *Livia*; yet they have told us, that she had also the name of *Julia*, and have informed us of the reason for it; which was, that *Augustus* in his last will adopted his wife into the *Julian* family, and appointed that she should bear the name of *Julia* (*q*). And there are medals, on which she bears this name. But if nothing of this had appeared in any of the Roman authors, or inscriptions that are extant; yet since *Josephus* appears to be well acquainted with the Roman affairs from *Julius Cesar* down to his own time; I believe most men would have allowed, that he had some good reason for calling the wife of *Augustus*, *Julia*. For the same reason, a like supposition ought to be made, in behalf of the Evangelists, in the case before us.

(*p*) *Vid. Jos. p. 1028. not. b.*

(*q*) *Tiberium & Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustae adsumebatur. Tacit. lib. i. c. 8. vid. etiam Sueton. Aug. c. 101. Dion. p. 600. A.*

It was exceeding common among the ancients, *Jews*, and others, for persons to have two names, and to be called sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other. There are several instances in the *New Testament* : *Simon, who is called Peter* ; *Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus* ; Matth. x. 2. 3. *Thomas, which is called Dydimus* ; John xi. 16. *Simeon, that was called Niger* ; Acts xiii. 1. *Saul, who was also called Paul.*

Josephus calls *Caiaphas*, the High Priest, *Joseph*. He has indeed told us, that he was also called *Caiaphas* (r). If mankind would have been as equitable to the writers of the New Testament, as they usually are to other authors, to some who are far from giving equal tokens of skill or probity with them ; this would have created no difficulty, though *Josephus* had never subjoined the name of *Caiaphas* to that of *Joseph*. But if any had been disposed to give the Evangelists unfair and unequal treatment, it is likely, they would have pretended that here was a notorious blunder ; and that *Caiaphas* was so far from being High-Priest, when *John Baptist* began his ministry, and when *Jesus* was

(r) p. 795. v. 23. 802. v. 28.

crucified, that there never was any such person High-Priest among the *Jews*.

I hope what is already said may be sufficient to convince all reasonable men, there is no just ground to suspect the Evangelists of any mistake in the name of *Herodias's* first husband. However, there is somewhat farther to be offered. There are other writings extant, in which he is called *Philip*. I shall transcribe here the account of it in *Whitby's* words. “*Gorionides* saith, *Herodias* was first married to *Philip*, and then “ taken away from him by *Herod Antipas*. “ The old *Hebrew* chronicle saith, *Uxorem* “ *fratris sui Philippi ipso vivente junxit si-* “ *bi matrimonio, quae liberos ex fratre ejus* “ *susceperat, & tamen is eam duxit uxorem.* “ (chap. 36.) And an old *Chronicle* of the “ second temple saith, *Antipas Philippi fra-* “ *tris sui uxorem accepit, ex qua ille liberos* “ *ante genuerat.* (F. 54. c. 4.) *i. e.* *Anti-* “ *pas* married the wife of his brother *Phi-* “ *lip*, he being yet living, and having had “ children by her (s).”

(s) *Whitby on Matth. xiv. 3.*



C H A P. VI.

Of Zacharias, the Son of Barachias.

 Here are some difficulties attending the prophetical representation, given by our Lord, of those judgments, which he foresaw, would soon befall the *Jewish* nation. This we have in two of the Evangelists; in St. *Matthew*, and St. *Luke*. One account will illustrate the other, and we may have some occasion to refer to each of them: therefore I shall set them both down here at once.

The account of this matter, as it stands in St. *Matthew*, is thus: *Woe unto you, ^{Matth. xxiii. 29.—36.} Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous; and say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto your selves, that ye be the children*

dren of them that killed the Prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and wise men and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of ZACHARIAS, SON OF BARCHIAS, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation.

The parallel place in St. Luke is in these words : *Woe unto you, for you build the sepulchres of the Prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness, that ye allow the deeds of your fathers; for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the Prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the BLOOD OF ZACHARIAS, which*

Luke xi. 47.
— 51.

which perished between the altar and the temple : verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation.

Here the Evangelists may be charged with a mistake several ways. They who would suppose, that *Zacharias* here referred to is *Zacharias*, one of the twelve lesser *Jewish* prophets, will say, they must have been mistaken, because in the time of this *Zacharias*, the temple is supposed to have been in ruins : and therefore, it is impossible, he should have been killed *between the temple and the altar*. And others, who suppose *Zacharias*, here intended, is *Zacharias*, whose death is related in 2 *Chron.* xxiv. may say, that St. *Matthew* mistook the name of his father. For his name was *Jehojada*, and not *Barachias*.

There is another *Zacharias*, whose death is related by *Josephus*. But that happened not, till long after the time, in which our Saviour is supposed to have spoken these words. This seems to afford the most formidable objection. I shall therefore state and consider it particularly. And in answering this I hope to answer also the other two.

Before

Before I state this objection, I shall here transcribe the passage of *Josephus*, on which it is founded. I must abridge it indeed, but I shall omit nothing that is material to the point before us.

“ The zealots, *says Josephus*, were exceedingly enraged against *Zacharias* (a), the son of *Baruch*: for he was a man who detested all wickedness, was a lover of liberty, and moreover was very rich. They call (b) together therefore by a decree seventy of the chief of the people, and form a kind of Council, destitute of all authority. They then brought *Zacharias* before them, and accused him of a conspiracy with the *Romans*: and in particular charged him with sending messengers to *Vespasian*, the better to concert measures for betraying them into his hands.” But they had no witnesses. The facts were not proved. *Zacharias*, in a speech he delivered before the Council, confuted all the calumnies of the zealots, and warmly reproved them for their wickedness. “ The seventy then acquitted him,

(a) Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν Βαρούχ.

(b) Συγκαλῶσιν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐν τέλει δημοτῶν.

“ choosing rather to die with him, than to
 “ bring upon themselves the imputation of
 “ his death. He being thus absolved, the
 “ zealots raised a loud clamour against those
 “ judges, as not understanding the design,
 “ for which they had been invested with au-
 “ thority. And two of the most daring of
 “ the zealots, falling upon *Zacharias* in the
 “ middle of the temple, slew him there (c).”

It may be said then : From hence it ap-
 pears, that the writers of these books were
 not acquainted with the affairs of those
 times. These writings therefore do not
 come from St. *Matthew*, or St. *Luke*. At
 lest the authors of them did not live at the
 time they are supposed to have lived : pos-
 sibly not till long afterwards. How else
 could they have committed such a blunder,
 as to make Jesus tell the *Jews* of his time,
 in the reign of *Tiberius*, that they had kill-
 ed *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Bar-
 ruch* ? when *Josephus* informs us, that he
 was not killed, till the later end of *Nero's*
 reign, above thirty years after these words
 are said to have been spoken by Christ.

(c) Δύο δὲ τῶν τολμηροτάτων, προσπιόντις ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ,
 διαφθείρουσι τὸν Ζαχαρίαν. *De Bell.* l. 4. c. 5. §. 4.

I. To this I answer, in the *first* place, that the fact related by *Josephus* does not suit the words of Christ in the Evangelists.

For (1.) the name of the father of *Zacharias* seems to be different. *Whitby* (d) observes "that as *Baruch* in *Jeremiah*, and " the *Apocrypha* is always called by the Septuagint *Βαρούχ*, *Baruch*, so *ברכיה*, *Barachiah*, is rendered by them *Βαρχίας*, *Barachias*, *Isa. viii. 2. Zach. i. 1. 7.* And " in *Neb. iii.* we find *Βαρχίας*, *Barachias*, " v. 4. and *Βαρούχ*, *Baruch*, v. 20. which " shews they were not the same name."

(2.) Their characters are not the same. The design of our Saviour's discourse obliges us to suppose, that *Zacharias*, whom he mentioned, was a *prophet*: Whereas *Zacharias*, in *Josephus*, has not that character from him.

(3.) The place, in which they are said to have been slain, is not the same. *Zacharias*, in the Gospels, perished *between the temple and the altar*, according to both *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*. But there is no reason to suppose, that *Josephus's Zacharias* was slain in the inner court, in which the altar stood. The council was not held

(d) Or *Matth. xxiii. 35.*

within

within that court: and *Zacharias* seems to have been slain immediately after his absolution by the council. If he was slain in any part of the *ἱερόν*, temple, that is perfectly agreeable to the words of *Josephus*; for under that name were comprehended the temple, and all the courts and buildings belonging to it.

These several instances of disagreement, I should think, must incline most persons to conclude, that the same *Zacharias* was not intended by the Evangelists and *Josephus*.

But perhaps this is more than is reasonable to expect should be allowed by an objector. He can easily believe of writers, who are in little credit with him, that they may run far wide of the truth, and really intend a fact that has but a small resemblance with their relation. With such, what hath been said hitherto will have little weight.

I proceed therefore to some other considerations.

II. I say then, that our Lord, in the words we are now considering, instanceth in facts supposed to have been done a considerable time before. The whole tenour and design of his discourse assures us of it.

The *Zacharias* he mentions is not one, whom they of that age had themselves slain, but rather one of those prophets, whose tombs they built.

The sum of what our Saviour says (if I mistake not) is this : Ye say, *If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.* This you say ; but, as hereby you own, that you are the children of them that killed the prophets ; so by your conduct, by your malice, your pride, your hypocrisy, your obstinate disobedience to God, you make it appear, that you allow the deeds of your fathers, and are their genuine offspring. You even exceed them in wickedness. You are now filling up, and you will still go on to fill up the measure of their iniquity. I am come among you in my father's name, and have done works, which no man ever did ; but you do not hearken to me. My words you do not receive, and me you will crucify. God will still send among you, as he did to your fathers, prophets and wisemen, to instruct you in the most excellent doctrine, to admonish and reclaim you : but ye will kill and crucify them, scourge them in your synagogues,

nagogues, and persecute them from city to city. Hereby you will make the wicked deeds of your fathers your own, and bring the guilt of them upon your selves: You will hereby deserve, that all the righteous blood, shed from the foundation of the world, from the blood of righteous *Abel* to the blood of *Zacharias*, should be required of you: and verily I say unto you, *it shall be required of this generation.*

Our Lord seems to me to remind them of instances of disobedience and cruelty, which they were well acquainted with, *which they avowedly condemned*, and pretended to see the evil of; but yet did, and would imitate in a most notorious manner: and hereby would bring the guilt of them upon themselves. And the conclusion of all obliges us to suppose, that the death of the *Zacharias* he had mentioned, was an act of cruelty committed by their fathers. This is the sense of the words in both the Evangelists.

This appears to me so evident, that if there had been no event recorded in any of their ancient writings, which answered to the death of *Zacharias* here described; yet I should have supposed, that there was some

such event, that had happened some time before, and which they were then well acquainted with.

III. However, we have (e) a fact recorded in the Old Testament, which exactly answers the words of our Saviour. It is in 2 Chron. xxiv. 17.—22. *Now after the death of Jehojada—they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers,—and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem:—yet he sent prophets unto them to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them: but they would not give ear. And the spirit of God came upon Zachariah, the son of Jehojada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgresse ye the commandment of the Lord? And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness, which Jehojada his father had done to him, but slew his son: and when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it, and require it.*

This fact is exactly parallel with that described by our Lord. (1.) This Zachariah

(e) See Whitby, Matth. xxiii. 36.

spoke in the name of the Lord, *the spirit of God came upon him.* It was suitable to our Lord's design to instance in the death of a prophet. *Ye say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the death of the PROPHETS.—I send unto you PROPHETS, and wise men and scribes. Abel was a righteous man, and this Zacharias a prophet.*

(2.) The place, in which this *Zacharias* is said to have been killed, answers the description in the Evangelists. He was slain in the *court of the house of the Lord*, that is, in the court of the priests, the inner court of the temple. In both the Evangelists the same place is specified, *between the temple and the altar.* This particular circumstance of so remarkable an event was, doubtless, handed down to them by tradition. According to the account in the *Chronicles*, he was in the inner court, when he delivered his message from God to them: *He stood above the people.* The ground of the inner court was raised above the rest. He stood at the extremity of that, and spoke to the people standing in the next court below him. *At the commandment of the King*, they rushed in upon *Zachariab.* He retired, they pursued

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pursued him, and *stoned him with stones*, so that he fell down in the space between the altar of burnt-offerings and the temple.

(3.) Our Lord subjoins: *whom YE SLEW*. The death of *Zacharias*, in the *Chronicles*, was the act of the nation, of King and People. This particular is added to this instance with the highest propriety. The death of *Abel* was the death of a *righteous man*, but not committed by them. The death of *Zacharias* was the act of their ancestors, that is, of that people, to whom our Lord was speaking. For a nation is in all ages reckoned the same people. *And he answered and said unto them, what did Moses command YOU? Mark x. 3. Verily I say unto you, Moses gave YOU not that bread from heaven. John vi. 32. Did not Moses give YOU the law? Ch. vii. 19. See 22.*

(4.) Expressions made use of in the history of *Zacharias* in the *Chronicles*, and by our Saviour in his discourse to the *Jews*, put it past doubt, that he intended this fact, and alluded to this very account in that book. *Behold I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes. The history in the Chronicles begins thus: Yet he sent unto them prophets to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testi-*

testified against them, &c. It concludes :
And when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it, and require it. Our Saviour tells the Jews, *that the blood of all the prophets would be required of that generation.*

(5.) As the fact related in the *Chronicles* does in all it's circumstances answer that described by our Lord, so there is a suitability in the order, in which it stands in our Lord's discourse. *Abel* is the first *righteous man* slain, and the death of *Zacharias* is the last act of cruelty to a *prophet* related in the *Jewish* sacred writings.

IV. It ought to be observed, that there is an exact harmony between the *Evangelists*, in the account they have given of this discourse of our Saviour, though there is no reason to think, that one has copied the other. This ought to satisfy us, that no mistake has been made.

In one particular indeed there is a difference. In *St. Matthew Zacharias* is stiled the son of *Barachias*, whereas in *St. Luke's* account it is not said who was his father.

And in this particular the person, whom our Saviour speaks of, seems not to answer to him mentioned in the *Chronicles*. For there he is called the son of *Jebojada*.

There is therefore but one objection against supposing, that our Saviour meant the *Zacharias* in the *Chronicles*. But it is such an objection, as deserves consideration.

It has been observed by (f) divers learned men, that many persons among the *Jews* were called by two names, especially when their true name happened to have some of the letters of the word *Jehovah* in it. For this reason *Barachias* may have been used for *Jehojada*, since likewise these two names have much the same meaning.

Other learned men suppose, that *Barachias* was very early inserted into St. *Matthew's* Gospel by some transcriber. There is the more reason for this supposition, because it is wanting in St. *Luke*. Or else *Jehojada* might have been originally in St. *Matthew*, but some Christian transcriber, not well acquainted with the *Jewish* history, nor knowing who *Jehojada* was, and therefore suspecting that to be a mistake, might pretend to correct it by putting *Barachias* in the room of *Jehojada*. *Zachariah*, the son of *Barachias*, whose prophecies form one of the books of the Old Testament, was certainly better known among the Christians,

(f) *Vid. Grot. & Whitb. in loc.*

than

than *Zacharias*, the son of *Jebojada*. It is not at all unlikely therefore, that our not having this name in *St. Matthew*, may be owing to the ignorance and rashness of some transcriber. This supposition seems to be favored by what *St. Jerome* says, who informs us, that in the *Gospel of the Nazarenes Zachariah* is called the son of (g) *Jebojada*.

Some have thought, that there is a like instance in *Matth. xiii. 35.* where we have these words: *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, &c.* The words of this quotation are in *Pf. lxxviii. 2.* the title of which is *Maschil of Asaph*. *St. Jerome (b)* says, that in some copies of *St. Matthew* it was written: *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Esaias.* He thinks it was originally: *which was spoken by the prophet Asaph.* But some transcriber, not knowing *Asaph* to be a prophet, put *Esaias* in his room. Afterwards others, perceiving there were no such words

(g) In evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni, pro filio Barachiae, filium Jojadae reperimus scriptum. *S. Hieron. comment. Matth. xxiii. 36.*

(b) *In loc.*

as those which follow here to be found in *Esaïas*, left out his name. And from thence forward in most copies it was written, *which was spoken by the prophet, saying, &c.*

I crave leave to mention an observation, that may support the former of these two suppositions, *viz.* that originally *the son of Barachias* was wanting in *St. Matthew*, as well as in *St. Luke*. The ancient Christians seem to have been very much divided in their opinion, who was the *Zacharias* here spoken of. Many Christians in *St. Jerome's* time thought, he was *Zacharias* the father of *John the Baptist*; borrowing this notion (as he *(i)* adds,) from some apocryphal books of no authority. In the copies of *St. Matthew's* Gospel in his time, he was stiled the son of *Barachias*, as in ours: But the *Nazarene* Christians, being *Jews* by birth, and understanding the history of their own nation, had it in their Gospel, *Zacharias the son of Jebojada*. This indeed was the truth, but it seems to have been an insertion.

But this is left to the reader, to judge of, as he thinks fit. It is highly probable, that one of these may be the case; either that *Jebojada*, not being well known, *Bar-*

(i) *Comm. in Matth. xxiii. 36.*

rachias was put in his room; or else, that *the son of Barachias*, was added.

There being so probable an account of this reading, I hope there remains no farther scruple about this text.

There is another interpretation of these words, which some have inclined to, namely, that *Zacharias* here mentioned is *Zacharias*, whose death *Josephus* has given us the history of: and that our Saviour spoke of him by way of prophecy. But as there can be no objection, which I am concerned with, formed against the Evangelists from this sense of the words, I have taken no notice of it.

Besides, I think it is by no means the true sense of the place. *Whitby* observes very well, “ that Christ speaks here of the Prophets, whom they had slain, not of one who was to be slain a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; for then none of the people could have understood his meaning.”

By the whole tenour of our Saviour’s discourse, the *Zacharias* he speaks of is excluded from the number of those that were to be slain. If *Zacharias*, whom *Josephus* speaks of, was as good a man as he represents

sents him, and did faithfully reprove the wickedness of the prevailing party of his nation; he might be one of those *holy and wise men*, whom our Saviour foresaw would be slain by the *Jews*: But he can never be the *Zacharias*, whom our Saviour mentioned by name; for he is one of those *prophets*, which had been slain before, and whose blood would be required of them.





C H A P. VII.

Of Theudas.

IT will be proper in the next place to consider the objection relating to *Theudas*. The Apostles were brought before the council at Jerusalem: And when they took counsel to slay Acts v. 34. — 36. them, Gamaliel commanded to put the Apostles forth a little space; and said unto them, Ye men of Israel take heed to your selves, what ye intend to do as touching these men. FOR BEFORE THESE DAYS ROSE UP THEUDAS, boasting himself to be some body, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain, and all as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought. AFTER THIS MAN rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed,

This

This speech of *Gamaliel* was made not long after our Saviour's ascension. *Ludovicus Cappellus* places it in the begining of *Caligula's* (a) reign. *Whitby* (b) and others, three or four years sooner, in the 20th of *Tiberius*, A. D. 34. And *Gamaliel* here speaks of *Theudas*, as having given disturbance before *Judas* of *Galilee*, who in the days of the taxing drew away much people. This refers doubtless to the assessment made by *Cyrenius* after *Archelaus* was deposed, when *Judea* was reduced to a Roman (c) province : which happened in the sixth or seventh year of the Christian Aera. It was at this time that *Judas*, whom *Josephus* calls *Judas Gaulanites*, and likewise *Judas* the *Galilean*, raised disturbances in that countrey.

But *Josephus* gives us an account of an impostor, called *Theudas*, when *Cuspius Fadus* was Procurator in *Judea* ; and therefore not before the fourth year of *Claudius* the Roman Emperour, A. D. 44. that is, seven years after *Gamaliel's* speech was made, ac-

(a) *Spicileg. in Act. v. 36.*

(b) *Whitby Par. on this text.*

(c) *Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult. xviii. cap. 1. De B. Jud. lib. vii. cap. viii. §. 1.*

cording

according to *Cappellus's* computation, and ten years after it, according to *Whitby's*.

Josephus's words are these: "Whilst *Fadus* was Procurator of *Judea*, a certain impostor called *Theudas* perswaded a very great multitude, taking their effects along with them, to follow him to the river *Jordan*. For he said he was a prophet, and that causing the river to divide at his command, he would give them an easie passage over. By these speeches he deceived many. But *Fadus* was far from suffering them to go on in their madness: for he sent out a troop of horse, who, coming upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took many prisoners. *Theudas* himself was among the later. They cut off his head, and brought it to *Jerusalem*. These things happened in *Judea*, while *Cuspius Fadus* was Procurator (d)."

It

(d) Φάδῳ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντι, γένος τις αἰνὴρ, Θεουδᾶς ὀνόματι, πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον, ἀναλαβύλα τὰς κτήσεις πισθαί, πρὸς τὸν Ἰερδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ. προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προσάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας, διόδον ἔφη παρέξει αὐτοῖς ῥαδίαν· καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πόλλας ἠπάτησεν, ὃ μὴ εἶασεν αὐτὸς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὕσασθαι Φάδῳ, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμψε ἴλην ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἥτις ἀπροσδόκητον ἐπιπισῶσα, πόλλας μὲν ἀνείλε, πόλλας

It may therefore be pretended, that St. *Luke* has made a mistake. The *Theudas*, whom *Josephus* mentions, appeared not till several years after *Gamaliel's* speech was made. Nor has *Josephus* said any thing of any other. The person *Gamaliel* speaks of, is of the same name. He likewise *boasted himself to be some body*, that is, *a prophet*. He was slain, and his followers were scattered. In these particulars *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* agree. Therefore they mean the same person, but they differ most widely about the time. For which reason St. *Luke* must have been mistaken.

Divers solutions have been offered of this difficulty.

I. Some say, St. *Luke* might put the affair of *Theudas* into *Gamaliel's* speech by way of anticipation. He knew very well, that *Theudas* did not appear till after this time; but this being a very proper instance, and suitable to the main scope and design of the speech which *Gamaliel* made, he inserted it himself. But this is not at all agreeable

πόλλες δὲ ζῆντας ἔλαβον· αὐτόν τε τὸν Θεοῦδαν ζυγῆσαντες ἀπο-
τέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· τὰ μὲν οὖν
συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὰς Κεσπίας Φάδας τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς
χρόνης, ταῦτα ἐγίνετο. *Ant.* 20. c. 4. §. 1.

to the simplicity of St. *Luke's* narration, especially considering how particular he is as to the number of *Theudas's* followers : *To whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves.* And one would think *Valesius* was at a loss for examples of anticipation, when the only one he produces is out of a Poet, and that has scarce any resemblance with this before us (*e*).

2. Some think that *Josephus* has been mistaken, and has misplaced *Theudas's* insurrection. This solution *Valesius* prefers before the former; and it is approved likewise by (*f*) *Le Clerc*. They understand *Gama-liel* to say : *Before these days* (*g*), that is, a little while ago rose up *Theudas*, boasting himself to be some body. And if you look farther back (*b*), *before this man* (not after this

(*e*) Alia quoque conciliandi ratio excogitari potest; si dicamus B. Lucam in eo loco καὶ ἐπὶ πρόκλησιν locutum esse. Quae quidem figura occurrit interdum apud antiquos scriptores, exempli causa apud Virgilium, cum dicit :

—portusque require Velinos.

Atqui cum haec dicerentur Aeneae, nondum condita erat Velia. *Vales.* Annot. in *Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. xi.*

(*f*) Clerici *Histor. Eccl. A. D. 28. n. 60.*

(*g*) Πρὸ γὰρ τῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεοδᾶς. Quae verba rem nuper ac novissimè factam demonstrant. *Vales. ubi supra.*

(*b*) Sed quoniam Casaubonus negat Graecos unquam ita

P p p

locutos

this man, as we render it ;) rose up Judas of Galilee.—Thus, according to *Valesius*, *Josephus* has not misplaced this event of *Theudas* above twelve years ; but according to *Mr. Le Clerc*, the error is greater, for he supposes he rose up A. D. 28.

But this kind of solutions appears to me perfectly arbitrary, and not to be untying, but cutting the knot. And I freely own, I have no right to them. It is very unlikely, that *Josephus* should have been mistaken about the time of that *Theudas's* insurrection, which he gives an account of. He may have made mistakes in chronology : but *Josephus* is very express here, that this affair happened in the time of *Fadus* ; when he himself must have been seven years of age.

- locutos fuisse, producendus est testis omni exceptione major. Is est Clemens Alexandrinus, qui in lib. 7. Stromat. sub finem, eodem prorsus modo locutus est quo B. Lucas :—*Nam Marcion iisdem quidem temporibus vixit quibus Basilides & Valentinus. Verum tanquam senior cum illis adhuc junioribus versatus est.* Addit deinde, μετ' οὗ Σίμων ἐπ' ὀλίγον κηρύσσοντι τῷ Πέτρῳ ὑπῆκουν. *Post quem Simon praedicantem Petrum audit aliquamdiu.* Quis non videt in hoc Clementis loco post hunc idem valere atque ante hunc,—sed & geographiae scriptores, quoties terrarum situm & populorum nomina describunt, eodem loquuntur modo. Dicunt enim μετὰ τούτους εἰσὶν ἑκαῖνοι. *id. ibid.*

And

And in my opinion these learned men give a wrong meaning to two expressions in *Gamaliel's* speech. It is not necessary to understand those words, *Before these days rose up Theudas*, of a little while ago, two or three years before. These common phrases are loose and undetermined in all languages, and signify sometimes a shorter, at others, a longer space of time. And the subject matter of the discourse, or the coherence of things, or some light from abroad, can alone determine, what the space of time intended is. It is said: *But Saul encreased* Acts ix. 22. *the more in strength, and confounded the* ^{23.} *Jews which were at Damascus.*—AND AFTER THAT MANY DAYS *were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him.* By these *many days* can be meant but a short space of time, as appears from *Gal. i. 17. 18.* *St. Paul tells Felix: Forasmuch as I know that* Acts xxiv. 10. *thou hast been of many years a judge unto* ^{10.} *this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for my self:* though it is likely, *Felix* had not then been in *Judea* above five years. And yet it might be said very properly, that he had been there *many years*: since in five years time, a Governour may be supposed to gain a good insight into the lawes and

customs of his province, and the temper of the people ; as also, because very often Governours were removed in a shorter space of time. When *Pilate's* soldiers had marched into *Jerusalem* with ensigns, the *Jews* went from thence in a great body to *Pilate* at *Cæsarea*, and there made *supplications*, *Josephus* (i) says, *many days*. But it appears presently afterwards, that on the (k) *sixth day* from their arrival *Pilate* seated himself on his tribunal, and granted their petition. So *Josephus* relates this in his *Antiquities*. In his *War* these earnest supplications continued *five whole days* (l) *and nights*.

Thus these phrases, that seem to import a long duration, are much limited by the connexion of a discourse, or by the nature of the things spoken of. And other phrases, that denote ordinarily a shorter duration, must be understood sometimes with great latitude. There is an example in *Jeremiah* ch. xxxi. 31. *Behold THE DAYS COME, saith the Lord, that I will make a new co-*

(i) Ἰκετεῖαν ποιοῦμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. *Antiq.* 18. cap. 4. §. 1.

(k) Κατὰ ἑκτὴν ἡμέραν——αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἦκε. *ibid.*

(l) Ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἴσας ἀκίνητοι διακατέγον. *l. 2. c. 9. §. 2.*

venant with the house of Israel. Ver. 33.
 AFTER THOSE DAYS, saith the Lord, I
 will put my lawe in their inward parts. I
 suppose no one thinks, these promises or pre-
 dictions were to be accomplished presently.
Porphry says, " that many of the ancients
 " had been supposed to understand the
 " sounds of birds and other animals, and
 " *Apollonius* (m) of *Tyana* not long ago."
Apollonius died before the end of the first
 century of the Christian Aera. *Porphry*
 was not born till the 232d, or 233d year (n)
 of the same Aera. Every one must be sen-
 sible, with what latitude *Porphry*'s not long
 ago is to be understood. I place another re-
 markable example from *Cicero* in the mar-
 gin (o).

I see no necessity therefore of restraining
 the sense of the phrase, *before these days*, to
 two or three years. It may as well intend
 twenty or thirty years. It is plain it does
 so here, since it was not till after *Theudas*,
 that *Judas* rose up.

(m) 'Ως ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ὁ Μελάμπ, — καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι,
 ἃ πρὸ πολλῶν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς. *Porphyr. de Abst. l. 3. c. 3.*

(n) *Vid. Luc. Holsten. de Vit. & Script. Porphyr. cap. 2.*

(o) Quid ea, quae NUPER, id est paucis ante seculis, me-
 dicorum ingeniis reperta sunt? *De Nat. deor. l. 2. c. 50.*

Which brings me to the other phrase misunderstood by these learned men: *After this man*, μετὰ τούτου. The instances of the use of this preposition by geographers for a remoter distance are not to the point, because here it imports time. And as for *Valesius's* quotation from *St. Clement*; I think it not worth while to consider here, whether he understands it right or not. At the best *St. Clement's* passage is very obscure and perplexed. *St. Luke's* phrase is one of the most common phrases in all the *Greek* language, and is ever understood as it is rendered in this place by our translators. It would be unreasonable to affix a new meaning to a very common phrase upon the single authority of one obscure passage. This is said upon the supposition, that the phrase in *St. Clement* was the same with that in *St. Luke*, and that the sense assigned by *Valesius* to *St. Clement's* passage was the most likely sense of any. But indeed the phrase in *St. Clement* is not the same, and for that reason is of the less weight here.

I suppose then, that our translation is just, and that the substance of this part of *Gamaliel's* speech is this: Not long since rose up *Theudas*. It might be thirty years or

more. The persons he spoke to knew very well how long. And after this man, in the time of the celebrated assessment, when *Judea* was made a Roman province, rose up *Judas of Galilee*. Both these men perished, and their adherents were scattered.

3. And the solution, already offered by divers learned (*p*) men, of the difficulty under consideration, appears to me perfectly just. There were two *Theudas*es in *Judea* that were impostors, one before *Judas of Galilee*, and another in the reign of *Claudius*. There is no mistake upon this head in *Josephus*, nor in *St. Luke*, who has given us an exact and true account of *Gamaliel's* speech.

It is not at all unlikely, that there should be two impostors in *Judea* of the same name in the compass of about forty (*A*) years, and that they should both come to the same end. These are the two chief difficulties in this matter, and they may be both cleared up.

(*p*) *Casaub. Exerc. in Baron. ii. n. 18. Grot. & Hamm. in A. v. 36. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. 6. c. 9. §. 7. edit. 1706.*

(*A*) The interval cannot be shorter. *Josephus's Theudas* could not appear before the year 44. *Gamaliel's Theudas* rose up before *Judas of Galilee*, who made his disturbance in the 6th or 7th year of the Christian *Æra*.

(1.) It is not at all strange, that there should be two impostors in *Judea* of the name *Theudas* in the space of forty years. There were several impostors named *Simon*. Beside *Simon Magus*, mentioned in the New Testament, and often spoken of by the first Christian writers, there was one *Simon* a servant of *Herod*; who, after his master's death, had the impudence to set himself up for King, and put (*q*) on a diadem. After a long and obstinate engagement with *Gratus*, he was defeated, and his men were dispersed. He was taken prisoner, and by *Gratus's* order his head was (*r*) cut off. There was another *Simon*, son of *Judas* of *Galilee*, who was crucified in the (*s*) reign of *Claudius* by *Tiberius Alexander*, Governor of *Judea* after *Fadus*. There was in the time of *Felix* one *Simon* of *Cyprus*, who pretended to magic. I have already mentioned him in another place (*B*).

There were likewise several *Judas*es who gave disturbance to this countrey in a very

(*q*) Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σίμων δούλος μὲν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως. — ὅτε ἀρξάντης τῇ ἀκρασίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων, διαδηνμά τι ἐτόλμησε περιθίσθαι. *Antiq.* 17. c. 12. §. 6.

(*r*) Γράτος ἐντυχὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνει. *ibid.*

(*s*) *Ibid.* l. 20. c. 4. §. 2.

(*B*) *Book* 1. p. 42.

short

short time. *Judas* of *Galilee* was a noted person, mentioned here by *Gamaliel*, and oftentimes by *Josephus*. He rose up in the time of the taxing presently after the removal of *Archelaus*. There was (t) another *Judas* (c), son of *Ezechias*, who soon after *Herod's* death affected regal authority, and did a great deal of mischief. There was one *Judas*, son of *Sepphoraesus*, a man in great reputation for his skill in the lawe, who with some others raised a sedition during *Herod's* last sicknesse. He and some of his confederates (u) were burnt alive. So that there were three men of the same name, who in the space of about ten years raised commotions in *Judea*.

(2.) Nor is the agreement of *character* and *circumstances* mentioned by *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* a proof they speak of one and the same person. There are but two par-

(t) Ἰούδας δὲ ἦν Ἐξαιὶς υἱός, κ. λ. *Antiq.* 17. cap. 12. §. 5.

(c) Archbishop *Usher* thinks, this *Judas* to be *Gamaliel's Theudas*. "For whereas *Jebudah* of the *Hebrews* is the same "with *Theudab* of the *Syrians*, from whence *Judas* and *Theud-*
"deus, [compare *Luke* vi. 16. with *Mark* iii. 18.] and much
"rather *Theudas*, the same name plainly comes. This *Ju-*
"das seems to be no other than *Theudas*, of whom *Gamaliel*
"speaks *Acts* v. 36." *Annals*, p. 797.

(u) *De Bell.* l. 1. c. 33. §. 2.—4.

ticulars

ticulars of this sort: That they pretended to be extraordinary persons, and that they were slain, and their followers scattered or brought to nought. But in this there is nothing extraordinary. Though there had been yet more circumstances, in which they had agreed, this would have been no proof that one and the same person is spoken of.

Gamaliel says: *Theudas* boasted himself to be some body, and he was slain: *Josephus*, that *Theudas* said he was a prophet, and his head was cut off.

Josephus has informed us, concerning the *Theudas* he speaks of, that he got a good number of people to follow him to *Jordan*. Though *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* had concurred in so particular a circumstance as this, (which they do not,) yet it would not have been a sufficient reason for our supposing that they intended the same person.

I shall give an instance. Of *Simon* (x) above-mentioned, servant of *Herod*, *Josephus* says, that he plundered and burnt the palace at *Jericho*. And that he burnt several royal houses in divers parts, having first given them to be plundered by his follow-

(x) Τὸ ἐν Ἱεριχὲς βασιλείου πύργῳ δι' ἀσπαγῆς ἄγων τὰ ἔγκαταλελειμμένα. *Antiq.* 17. c. 12. §. 6.

ers. He says also, that the people with *Simon* were chiefly (y) *Peraeans*, or people that lived on the other side of *Jordan*. Afterwards, even while he is speaking of affairs that passed in *Judea* soon after the death of *Herod*, he says, that “at *Amatha* “ near *Jordan* a Royal Palace was burnt “ down by a number of men very much “ like those who were with (z) *Simon*.”

If *Josephus* had omitted this last fact, and some other historian had related it, together with the name of the leader of this body of men, and given them their character; which, if true, must have resembled that of the men with *Simon*: unless the reputation of this historian had been very well established, it would have been thought that he was mistaken, and that the person he meant was *Simon*, though he called him by another name. A palace burnt down at *Amatha* by *Jordan*. Who could these be but *Simon*’s people, who, *Josephus* says, were mostly *Peraeans*? Then the time agrees exactly: Both facts in the absence of *Archelaus* from

(y) Τό τε πολὺ τῶν Περαιῶν *ibid.*

(z) Κατεπρήσθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐν Ἀμαθῶν βασιλείᾳ ὑπὸ τινῶν συστάντων ἀνδρῶν Σίμωνι παραπλησίων. *ibid.*

Judea after his father's death. This writer therefore must have been grossly mistaken in the name of the person, to whom he ascribes the conduct of this action.

Or, it is not unlikely, that critics might have been divided : Some would have vindicated *Josephus*, and some the other writer. And yet they would have been all mistaken, unless they had allowed two different bodies of men, and two different matters to be spoken of, and that both the historians were in the right.

It is certain, that these impostors about this time had a resemblance in their pretensions, and their fates: one boasted he would give his followers a passage over *Jordan*; as *Josephus's Theudas*: another promised his people they should see the walls of *Jerusalem* fall down before them, as the *Egyptian* impostor. The great scene of expectation was the (a) wilderness. But in this they agreed universally, the company was routed and dispersed; and usually the leaders executed. This, we may be certain, was the case, or else the government had been overturned.

(a) *Matth. xxiv. 26. Jos. Ant. 20. c. 7. §. 6. 10. & alibi.*

These

These few circumstances then, in which *Gamaliel's Theudas* resembles him mentioned by *Josephus*, are no good argument, that one and the same person is intended.

Besides, there is one material circumstance, in which they differ. *Gamaliel* says: *Before these days rose up Theudas,—to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves.* But *Josephus* says of his *Theudas*, that he *perswaded a very great multitude to follow him.* And that *many were slain, and many taken prisoners.* *Josephus's Theudas* must have had with him a much larger company, than the former.

(3.) It has been very well observed by *Whitby* (b), that the ancients generally agreed there was a *Theudas* before the coming of our Lord, though *Josephus* has taken no notice of him. *Beza* (c) was of opinion that the *Theudas*, of whom *Gamaliel* speaks, did not arise before our Saviour's nativity, but soon after *Herod's* death, in that sort of interregnum, which there was in *Judea*, whilst *Archelaus* was at *Rome*. Which

(b) Ἐξῆμεν ὅτι Θευδάς πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ γέγονε τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις, μέγαν τιναῖα αὐτὸν λέγων. *Orig. cont. Cels* p. 44.
See more citations in *Whitby* upon the place.

(c) *In loc.*

was also Archbishop *Usher's* opinion, as I have shewn above.

It is certain, that this was a time of the utmost confusion. *Josephus* has mentioned several by name, who then gave disturbance in that countrey; and hinted at mischiefs done by others, whose names he has not put down. It is plain, he has past by many more than he has mentioned. For he says: "At that time (*d*) there were innumerable disturbances in *Judea*."

Considering all these things, that there had been before this many pretenders in *Judea*; that *Josephus* has been far from mentioning all that rose up in the later end of *Herod's* reign, and in that remarkable time of confusion which succeeded his death; since there had been in this countrey, in a very short time, divers adventurers for power and authority of one and the same name; and since *Theudas* (*e*) was no uncommon name among the *Jews*; and since these leaders of parties and factions very much resembled each other, and that sometimes in more

(*d*) Ἐν τῷ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα μὲν δοξάζαν ἐχόμενα τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατελάμβαν. *Antiq.* 17. c. 12. §. 4. *vid.* *Œ de B.* l. 2. c. 4.

(*e*) Frequens erat id nomen apud Hebraeos. Itaque non mirum est diversis temporibus plures extitisse factiosos homines ejusdem nominis. *Grot. in loc.*

particulars than those specified by *Gamaliel*; it is not at all unlikely, that there were two *Theudas*es who were impostors. We may depend upon it there were. *Gamaliel* speaks of one who was before *Judas* of *Galilee*, and *Josephus* of another in the time of *Claudius*.

Indeed I am somewhat surprized that any learned man should find it hard to believe, that there were two impostors in *Judea* of the name of *Theudas* in the compass of forty years (*f*).

Batricides, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, about the middle of the eighth century, supposed that the High Priest *Simon*, surnamed *the Just*, and who according to other historians (*g*) died about 290 years before the Christian Aera, and *Simeon*, who took our Saviour into his arms when he was presented at the temple, were one and the same person, and that he was then 350 years of age (*h*).

I do

(*f*) Duos enim Theudas fuisse, qui se prophetas esse mentiti, alter post alterum Judaeos ad spem rerum novarum concitaverint, nunquam adduci possim ut credam. *Vales. ubi supra.*

(*g*) See *Prideaux Conn. Part i. Book 8. year before Christ 292.*

(*h*) *In septuaginta autem fuit vir, qui nuncupatus est Simeon Justus; is qui excepit ulnis Dominum nostrum Christum e Templo. —Produxit autem Deus ei vitae terminum, adeo ut viveret CCCL annos, & videret Dominum nostrum Christum. Quem cum vidisset,*

I do not say, that these two mistakes are equal ; but the pretense for thus confounding two persons is just the same, in both these cases, which is the agreement in name and character. For the High Priest's name is sometimes writ *Simeon* : He was called *the just* : And the Evangelist says, that *Simeon* was *JUST and devout*.

vidisset, dixit, nunc dimitte servum tuum O Domine, &c. apud Selden. De Succ. in Pontif. l. i. c. vii.





C H A P. VIII.

Of the Egyptian Impostor.

 Here is yet another particular, in which it has been thought by some that *Josephus* contradicts *St. Luke*. In the *xxi.* of the *Acts of the Apostles* is the account of the uproar at *Jerusalem*, when the *Jews* apprehended *Paul*, and would have killed him. When the chief captain had taken him from the *Jews*, and had got him in his own custody, it is said, he put this question to him: *Art* *Acts xxi. 38.* *not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness FOUR THOUSAND men that were murderers?*

The objection lies against the number here mentioned. For *Josephus*, speaking of this same *Egyptian*, says: he gathered together thirty thousand men.

We have the story twice told in *Josephus*; in his *Antiquities*, and in his history of the

Q q q

Jewish

Jewish War. I shall set down *Josephus's* words, and leave it to the reader to judge, whether an objection of any weight can be formed against *St. Luke* from the account we have of this affair in *Josephus*. I shall in the first place transcribe the account in the *Jewish War*, because that was first writ.

“ But the *Egyptian* false prophet brought
 “ a yet heavier disaster upon the *Jews*. For
 “ this impostor coming into the countrey,
 “ and gaining the reputation of a prophet,
 “ gathered together thirty thousand men,
 “ who were deceived (a) by him. Hav-
 “ ing brought them round out of the wil-
 “ derness up to the mount of Olives, he
 “ intended from thence to make his attack
 “ upon *Jerusalem*, and having beaten the
 “ Roman Guard, to bring the people into

(a) Μείζονι δὲ ταύτης πληγῇ Ἰουδαίως ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιο ψευδοπροφήτης· παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἀνδρωπότης, καὶ προφήτης πίσιν ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίας μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἡπατημένων· περιαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ἐκείθεν οἷός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν ἐιάζεσθαι, καὶ κραλίσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῇ δήμῳ τυραννεῖν, χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπισῶσι δορυφόροις. φθάνει δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν Φηλιξ ὑπαντιάσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀπλιτῶν. Καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφύλατο τῆς ἀμύνης· ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μέλ' ὀλίγων, διαφραῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείους σὺν αὐτῷ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σκεδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστον διαλαθεῖν. *De Bell. 2. c. 13. §. 5.*

“ sub-

“ subjection to him, and govern them by
 “ the help of his armed associates. But
 “ *Felix* coming suddenly upon him with
 “ the Roman soldiers, prevented the at-
 “ tack : and all the people joined with him
 “ in their own defense ; so that, when they
 “ came to engage, the *Egyptian* fled, fol-
 “ lowed by a few only. A great number
 “ [or, the greatest part,] of those that were
 “ with him were either slain, or taken
 “ prisoners. The rest of the multitude be-
 “ ing scattered shifted for themselves as
 “ they could.”

The account he gives of this affair in the
Antiquities is thus : “ About the same time
 “ [he had been speaking of some other events
 “ in the begining of Nero's reign ;] there
 “ came (b) a person out of Egypt to Jeru-

(b) Ἀφικνεῖται δὲ τις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τῆτον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὰ
 Ἱεροσόλυμα, προφήτης εἶναι λέγων, καὶ συμβαλεῦν τῷ δημοτικῷ
 πλήθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὅρου τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἑλαιῶν ἔρχεσ-
 δαι——θέλει γὰρ ἔφασκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιθεῖναι, ὡς, κεινύσαν-
 τος αὐτῆ, πίπτοι τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη, δι' ὧν τὴν εἰσόδον
 αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο· Φήλιξ δὲ, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κε-
 λεύει τὰς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἰππέων
 τε καὶ πεζῶν ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσβάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 Αἰγύπτιον· καὶ τετρακοσίαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνέηλθον, διακοσίαι δὲ ζῶντας
 ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδράσας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὲς
 ἔγινετο. *Antiq.* 20. c. 7. §. 6.

“ *salem*, who pretended to be a Prophet,
 “ and having perswaded a good number of
 “ the meaner sort of people to follow him
 “ to the Mount of Olives, he told them,
 “ that from thence he would let them see
 “ the walls of *Jerusalem* fall down at his
 “ command, and promised through them to
 “ give them entrance into the city. But
 “ *Felix* being informed of these things or-
 “ dered his soldiers to their arms. And
 “ marching out of *Jerusalem* with a large
 “ body of horse and foot, fell upon those
 “ who were with the *Egyptian*; killed four
 “ hundred of them, and took two hundred
 “ prisoners. But the *Egyptian* getting out
 “ of the fight, escaped.”

The reader, if he thinks it needful, may
 consult the commentators, and other writers,
 who (c) have considered this difficulty.
Grotius supposes, that they were at first
four thousand; but that at length they en-
 creased to the number of *thirty thousand*.
Valesius reckons there were *four thousand*
 only, that were *murderers*, or *sicarii*; though
 the whole company amounted to the num-
 ber which *Josephus* mentions. *Whitby* thinks,

(c) *Grot. Whitby in loc. Joseph. p. 1075. not. p. Vales. in Eu-
 seb. Hist. l. ii. c. 21.*

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that it is likely the number in *Josephus* was originally *three thousand*. And certainly none of these solutions are contemptible. But, for my own part, I think there is more need of reconciling *Josephus* with himself, or at least one of these accounts with the other, than to reconcile St. *Luke* with *Josephus*.

If indeed we had any good reason to think, that the number in *Josephus* was originally three thousand, the disagreement would be small. The number of a multitude got together in a short time, and soon dispersed, might not be exactly known: the chief captain at *Jerusalem* might compute them at four thousand, and *Josephus* think they were but three thousand.

Aldrich has proposed another very ingenious conjecture; that originally the number of the whole company in *Josephus's War of the Jews* was four thousand; and that the number of *two hundred* said in the *Antiquities* to be taken prisoners was originally *two thousand*: Both which errors might happen only by a very small alteration (*d*).

(*d*) Suspicamur interim pro διακοσίαις scriptum olim διοχι-
λίας permutatis λ & δ, vel etiam Α. & Δ. ex τετρακισχιλίας
factum esse τρισμυγίας ne dubitamus quidem. *Alar. in Joseph.*
p. 1075. Not. p.

But I choose not to insist upon any of these solutions, which rely on emendations, made without the authority of any manuscripts. The numbers in *Josephus* are at present plainly faulty. In the first account he says they were thirty thousand in all, and that a *great number of these were either slain or taken prisoners*. I might have rendered the words, *the most of them*, or, *the greatest part of them*. But though I have not given them that sense, yet certainly the *four hundred slain*, and *two hundred taken prisoners*, in the other account, cannot be reckoned a *great number*, or a *large part* of thirty thousand.

But then, as I do not insist on these conjectural emendations for reconciling *Josephus* with St. *Luke*; so, on the other hand, it would be very unfair, first to take it for granted, that the number of thirty thousand in *Josephus* is right, and then arbitrarily to reform all the other numbers in him, in order to form an objection against the New Testament.

I think therefore, there can be no objection brought against the numbers in St. *Luke* from what *Josephus* has said of this affair, because his two accounts are not consistent

sistent one with another in this point : And that is sufficient.

These were my thoughts concerning this difficulty formerly. But I have now an observation to offer to the reader, which I think will not only reconcile St. *Luke* with *Josephus*, but likewise *Josephus* with himself; and that, without making any alterations in his numbers. This observation has been communicated to me by the truly learned and accurate Mr. *John Ward*, Professor of Rhetoric at *Gresham College*.

The history of this impostor seems to lye thus. He came first to *Jerusalem*, went from thence into the countrey, and taking a circuit by the wilder nesse, returned again to mount *Olivet*. In the *Antiquities* (which contain the shorter account of this affair,) *Josephus* mentions only the begining and end of the story, that is, the impostor's coming at first to *Jerusalem*, and at last to the mount of *Olives*; and drops the midle part, of which he had given a sufficient account in the books of the *War*. The chief captain's *four thousand* therefore were the men carried out of *Jerusalem*, who were afterwards (e) joined

(e) The words ἐξαγαγὼν in St. *Luke*, and ἀποπέμψας in *Josephus*, seem very well adapted to this distinction.

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by others in the countrey to the number of *thirty thousand*, as related by *Josephus*. It is likely also, that before he left the city, he had so concerted matters with some friends, whom he left behind him, as to entertain hopes, that upon his return his design would be favored by great numbers of *Jews* in *Jerusalem*, and that he should have no opposition from any but the *Romans*. But upon his arrival at mount *Olivet*, finding the *Romans* drawn out to attack him, and the citizens in general prepared to oppose him, he did not dare to venture an engagement, but presently fled with a body of his most trusty friends, as is usual in such cases. With these in particular the *Roman* soldiers were ordered to engage, neglecting the rest, who were only a confused multitude, and immediately made off as they could by different wayes. When therefore *Josephus* says, *the Egyptian fled accompanied by a few (f) only*, he is to be understood of that body which at first fled away with the impostor, and were but *a few*, with respect to the whole *thirty thousand*. When he says, *the greatest (g) part, or most of those*

(f) Τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον Φυγεῖν μὲν ὀλίγων.

(g) Διαφθαρεῖναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείους σὺν αὐτῷ.

that

that were with him were slain, or taken prisoners, which in the *Antiquities* are said to be four hundred killed, and two hundred taken, he means the greatest part of those few that fled with him. Nor need it be thought strange, that the number of the slain and the prisoners is no greater; since, as it seems, *Josephus* speaks only of that body of men who fled with the impostor. It is possible, some of the rest of the multitude might be killed likewise, though *Josephus* takes no notice of them; but it is most likely not many. For it seems by *Josephus*, as if only the Roman soldiers marched out against them, while the Jewish people in Jerusalem stood upon their defense, if any onset had been made upon them.

Thus then, though there were but four thousand of these men at first, they might be joined by others afterwards to the number of thirty thousand. So St. Luke is reconciled with *Josephus*. And the number, said by *Josephus* to be slain, or taken prisoners, might be a great number, or the greatest part, of that body, which fled with the Egyptian upon the attack made by Felix and his soldiers. Thus *Josephus* is reconciled with himself.

But

But yet I cannot leave the history *Josephus* has given us of this *Egyptian*, without making two or three observations.

1. The chief captain here asks *St. Paul*: *Art not thou that Egyptian, which (b) LED-DEST OUT into the wilderness?* — which seems to imply, since the question was asked in *Jerusalem*, that these men, or a good number of them at least, were drawn out of *Jerusalem*: And *Josephus* says expressly in the later account, that this impostor came out of *Egypt to Jerusalem*; and perswaded a good number of the meaner sort of people, (*i. e.* who were there,) to follow him.

2. The chief captain speaks of their being led out into the WILDERNESSE. This circumstance *Josephus* has mentioned in the first account, where he more particularly relates their march, and the compasses they took, than in the other.

3. This *Egyptian* escaped. *Josephus* has put down this in both places, and undoubtedly this is supposed in the question put to *St. Paul* by the chief captain. The agreement in this particular deserves to be taken notice of, because it was the common fate

(b) ὁ ἰζαγγῶν.

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of these impostors to perish themselves with a good number of their followers.

4. This *Egyptian* caused this disturbance, according to *Josephus*, when *Felix* was Governour of *Judea*. This impostor therefore did not arise any long time before the seizure of *St. Paul* at *Jerusalem*. He might be still living therefore : In this respect there was no absurdity in this question of the chief captain.

5. Another particular, which we are obliged to *Josephus* for, is, *that all the people* (at *Jerusalem*) favored, or joined with *Felix*, upon this occasion, in their own defense : that is, all but some very mean people. If *Josephus* had not mentioned this, perhaps it would have been said : Since considerable numbers usually joined these impostors, and it is likely more favored them ; how was it possible, that the chief captain should ask *Paul*, when he saw the whole city was in an uproar, and the people were ready to tear him to pieces : *Art not thou that Egyptian ?* that pretended prophet, that *before these days* madest an uproar ? a man of a favorite character at this time among the *Jews* !

I think

I think indeed, that if *Josephus* had omitted this circumstance, it would have been a very good reply, to say, that the chief captain did not yet know what was the matter : And though there was a loud cry in the multitude, of *away with him* ; yet the confusion was such, *some saying one thing*, and *some another*, that the chief captain had yet no notion what the case was. However we have no occasion to have recourse to this reply. *Josephus* has told us, that all the people favored *Felix* in his enterprize against this man : whether it was because he came from *Egypt*, or what was the reason, is of no importance.

6. There is a remarkable agreement between the chief captain in the *Acts* and *Josephus*, in the description they give of this man. The chief captain says : *Art not thou that Egyptian ?* And it is observable, that *Josephus* has not mentioned this man's name in either of the accounts. In the first he calls him the *Egyptian false prophet*, and *the Egyptian*. In the other, he says, *there came one* (or a certain person,) *out of Egypt* : And again, *Felix* fell upon those who were *with the Egyptian* : But the *Egyptian* escaped.

We

We have then in the *Acts* the exact manner, in which the *Jews* about this time spoke of this impostor. This is with me a proof, that *St. Luke* lived and wrote about this time : that is, at the time he is supposed to write. We have here undoubtedly the chief captain's question in the very words, in which it was put. *St. Luke* must have received this account from *St. Paul*, or some one else who was present, if he was not by himself.

I hope therefore, that the account, which *Josephus* has given of this impostor, will be no longer reckoned an objection against *St. Luke*, but a confirmation of his history.





T H E
C O N C L U S I O N .

 Have now performed what I undertook, and have shewn, that the account given by the Sacred Writers, of persons and things, is confirmed by other ancient authors of the best note. There is nothing in the books of the New Testament unsuitable to the age, in which they are supposed to have been writ. There appears in these writers a knowledge of the affairs of those times not to be found in authors of later ages. *We are hereby assured, that the books of the New Testament are genuine, and that they were writ by persons, who lived at or near the time of those events, of which they have given the history.*

Any

Any one may be sensible, how hard it is for the most learned, acute, and cautious man, to write a book in the character of some person of an earlier age ; and not betray his own time by some mistake about the affairs of the age, in which he pretends to place himself, or by allusions to customs or principles since sprung up, or by some phrase or expression not then in use. It is no easy thing to escape all these dangers in the smallest performance, though it be a treatise of theory or speculation. These hazards are greatly encreased, when the work is of any length, and especially if it be historical, and be concerned with characters and customs. It is yet more difficult to carry on such a design in a work consisting of several pieces, writ to all appearance by several persons. Many indeed are desirous to deceive, but all hate to be deceived. And therefore, though attempts have been made to impose upon the world in this way, they have never or very rarely succeeded, but have been detected and exposed by the skill and vigilance of those who have been concerned for the truth.

The volume of the New Testament consists of several pieces. These are ascribed to eight several persons. And there are the

strongest appearances, that they were not all writ by any one hand, but by as many persons as they are ascribed to. There are lesser differences in the relations of some facts, and such seeming contradictions, as would never have happened, if these books had been all the work of one person, or of several who writ in concert. There are as many peculiarities of temper and stile, as there are names of writers: divers of which shew no depth of genius, or compasse of knowledge. Here are representations of the titles, posts, behaviour of persons of higher and lower rank in many parts of the world. Persons are introduced, and their characters are set in a full light. Here is a history of things done in several cities and countreys. And there are allusions to a vast variety of customs and tenets of persons of several nations, sects and religions. The whole is writ without affectation, with the greatest simplicity and plainness, and is confirmed by other ancient writers of unquestioned authority.

If it be difficult for a person of learning and experience, to compose a small treatise, concerning matters of speculation, with the characters of a more early age, than that in which he writes; it is next to impossible,
that

that such a work of considerable length, consisting of several pieces, with a great variety of historical facts, representations of characters, principles, and customs of several nations, and distant countreys, of persons of all ranks and degrees, of many interests and parties, should be performed by eight several persons, the most of them unlearned, without any appearance of concert.

I might perhaps have called this argument a demonstration, if that term had not been often misapplied by men of warm imaginations, and been bestowed upon reasonings, that have but a small degree of probability. But though it should not be a strict demonstration, that these writings are genuine : or though it be not absolutely impossible in the nature of the thing, that the books of the New Testament should have been composed in a later age, than that to which they are assigned, and of which they have innumerable characters ; yet, I think, it is in the highest degree improbable, and altogether incredible.

If the books of the New Testament were writ by persons, who lived before the destruction of Jerusalem ; that is, if they were writ

R r r

at

at the time, in which they are said to have been writ, the things related in them are true. If they had not been matter of fact, they would not have been credited by any persons near that time, and in those parts of the world, in which they are said to have been done, but would have been treated as the most notorious lies and falshoods. Suppose three or four books should now appear amongst us in the language most generally understood, giving an account of many remarkable and extraordinary events, which had happened in some kingdome of *Europe*, and in the most noted cities of the countreys next adjoining to it; some of them said to have happened between sixty and seventy years ago, others between twenty and thirty, others nearer our own time: Would not they be looked upon as the most manifest and ridiculous forgeries and impostures that ever were contrived? Would great numbers of persons, in those very places, change their religious principles and practises upon the credit of things reported to be publicly done, which no man had ever heard of before? Or rather, is it possible, that such a design as this should be conceived by
any

any sober and serious persons, or even the most wild and extravagant?

If the history of the New Testament be credible, the Christian Religion is true. If the things here related to have been done by Jesus, and by his followers, by virtue of powers derived from him, do not prove a person to come from God, and that his doctrine is true and divine, nothing can. And as Jesus does here in the circumstances of his birth, life, sufferings, and after exaltation, and in the success of his doctrine, answer the description of the great person promised and foretold in the Old Testament, he is at the same time shewed to be the Messiah.

From the agreement of the writers of the New Testament with other ancient writers, we are not only assured, that these books are genuine, but also that they are come down to us pure and uncorrupted, without any considerable interpolations or alterations. If such had been made in them, there would have appeared some smaller differences at least between them and other ancient writings.

There has been in all ages a wicked propensity in mankind to advance their own notions and fancies by deceits and forgeries.

They have been practised by *Heathens*, *Jews*, and *Christians*, in support of imaginary historical facts, religious schemes and practises, and political interests. With these views some whole books have been forged, and passages inserted into others of undoubted authority. Many of the Christian writers of the second and third centuries, and of the following ages, appear to have had false notions concerning the state of *Judea* between the nativity of Jesus and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and concerning many other things occasionally mentioned in the New Testament. The consent of the best ancient writers with those of the New Testament is a proof, that these books are still untouched, and that they have not been new modelled and altered by Christians of later times in conformity to their own peculiar sentiments.

This may be reckoned an argument, that the generality of Christians have had a very high veneration for these books; or else, that the several sects among them have had an eye upon each other, that no alterations might be made in those writings, to which they have all appealed. It is also an argument,

ment, that the divine providence has all along watched over and guarded these best of books, (a very fit object of an especial care,) which contain the best of principles, were apparently writ with the best views, and have in them inimitable characters of truth and simplicity.





A N

APPENDIX

Concerning the time of Herod's
death.

IN all enquiries concerning the chronology of the New Testament, and particularly concerning the true time of our Saviour's nativity, and the commencement of his ministry, it is very needful to take into consideration the time of *Herod* the Great's death. Indeed it is very desirable in the first place to settle exactly the date of this event. But to do this is a very hard task. Nor has any one yet been so happy, as to remove all difficulties, and give universal satisfaction upon this head.

I

That

That none may be quite at a losse in judging of the difficulty considered in the *third* chapter of this Book, I shall here give a brief account of this matter.

The chief opinions at present concerning the time of *Herod's* death are these three. Some think he died a little before the Passover of A. U. 750. *Julian* year 42. others, on *Novemb.* 25, that same year: others, a short time before the Passover, A. U. 751.

§. I. The *English* reader may see all, in a manner, that can be said for the second opinion, in Mr. *Whiston's short View of the Harmony of the four Evangelists*, Prop. 12. But, though several very learned men have embraced this opinion, it appears to me a meer hypothesis without foundation. The only ground of it is a *Jewish* account of their Feasts and Fasts, in which that day is noted as a Feast, because on it *Herod* died. But that (a) book appears to be of no authority.

§. II. That *Herod* died but a short time before some one of the *Jewish* Passovers, is

(a) See *Whith. Annotat. Matth. ii. 23. Lamy Apparat. Chronol. Par. i. cap. 9. §. 5.*

evident from *Josephus* (b). If we reject entirely his authority, it is in vain to talk about the time of *Herod's* death. *Archelaus* kept a Passover in *Judea* after his father's death, before he went to *Rome*; which he would not have done, if it had not been near. He had good reason to hasten to *Rome*. He had many enemies. *Herod Antipas* had been appointed his father's successor in a former Will, and he pretended that Will ought to take place. When the *Jews* at the temple made their demands of *Archelaus*, he gave them fair words, that they might not make any disturbance and retard his journey (c), he being in haste to go to *Rome*. This haste is expressed by *Josephus* in the *War*, and in the *Antiquities*, in very strong terms. *Archelaus*, in his way to *Rome*, at *Cesarea*, met *Sabinus*, the Emperour's Procurator in *Syria*, who was going (d) in all haste to *Jerusalem*

(b) *De Bell. l. 2. c. 1. Antiq. 17. c. 9.*

(c) Πρὸς αὐτὸν παρωξύνετο μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, ἀπείχετο δὲ τὴν ἀμύ-
ναν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἐπείξεως, κ. λ. *De Bell. 2. c. 1. §. 3.*
Τάτοις Ἀρχέλαος, καίπερ δέινως φέρων τὴν ὄρμην αὐτῶν, ἐπένευε,
ἔχων τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὁδὸν ἀνύσθαι προκειμένην αὐτῷ τάχος, ἐπὶ
περισκοπῇ τῶν δοξάντων τῷ Καίσαρι. *Antiq. 17. c. 9. §. 1.*

(d) Ὑπαντιάζει δ' ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον Σαβῖνον, Καί-
σαρος ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων, εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὡρμημέ-

Jerusalem to secure *Herod's* treasure for *Augustus*. By help of the intercessions of *Varus*, president of *Syria*, (who was then likewise at *Cesarea*;) *Archelaus* prevailed upon *Sabinus* to promise, that he would not proceed any farther. But notwithstanding that, when *Archelaus* was gone away, he went up to *Jerusalem*; and there ordered all things, according to his own will and pleasure. This was all managed without any orders from *Rome*. If *Herod* had been dead two or three months, they would have had directions from thence upon this matter. Nay, if *Herod* had been dead one month, this vigilant Procurator would have been at *Jerusalem* before now. I take this to be a kind of demonstration, that, according to *Josephus*, *Herod's* death happened but a very short space before some Passover.

§. III. That *Herod* died a little before the Passover A. U. 750. *Julian* year 42, is argued in this manner. His distemper had made great progress before the pulling down the golden eagle at the temple. The *Jewish Rabbies* excited their scholars to this ac-

ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. *Antiq. ibid.* §. 3. *vid. etiam De Bell. ibid.* c. 2. §. 2.

tion, news being brought, that Herod (e) was DYING, as it is in the *War*; (f) DEAD, as it is in the *Antiquities*. These Rabbies were taken up, and carried to *Jericho*, where Herod was. A council was called, and they were tried. Herod was so ill, that he could not stand; and notwithstanding the new strength (g), which rage gave him upon this occasion, he was carried (h) to the council in a chair. Soon after this these Rabbies were burnt to death, and that very night (i) there was an eclipse of the moon. This eclipse, according to astronomical computations, happened (k) the 13th of *March*, A. U. 750. After this, Herod grew worse and worse. It is plain, he could not live long. The Passover (l) of this year happened the 11th of *April*. From the 13th

(e) Διηρημίσθη καὶ θνήσκειν ὁ βασιλεὺς. *De Bell.* 1. c. 33. §. 1.

(f) Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιαύτοις λόγοις ἐξῆραν τῆς νέως ἀφικνεῖται καὶ λόγῳ εἰς αὐτὴς τεθνᾶναι φερόμενον τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ συνέπραττε τοῖς σοφισταῖς. *Antiq.* 17. c. 6. §. 3.

(g) Ἐπὶ ταύτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ὀργῆς κρείττων τῆς νόσου γενόμενος, πρόεισιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, κ. λ. *De Bell.* 1. c. 33. §. 4.

(h) Καὶ παραγερόμενος, ἐξεκκλησιάσας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ θέατρον ἐπὶ κλινιδίῳ κείμενος ἀδυναμία τῇ σῆναι. *Antiq.* *ibid.*

(i) Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν. *ibid.* §. 4.

(k) *Petav. Doctrin. Temp.* l. xi. c. 1.

(l) *Vid. Lam. App. Chron.* p. 58.

of *March* to the 11th of *April*, is a sufficient space of time for all that *Josephus* has related concerning *Herod's* illness, his settling his affairs, the execution of *Antipater*, *Herod's* death and funeral; which are the things placed between the eclipse and *Archelaus's* coming to *Jerusalem* at the *Passover*.

In the *War* (m) *Josephus* says, that *Archelaus* was banished in the ninth year of his reign: In the *Antiquities*, that he was accused before *Augustus* by the *Jews* and *Samaritans* in the (n) tenth year of his government. In his own life *Josephus* says, that his father was born in the (o) tenth year of *Archelaus's* reign. From whence one would be apt to conclude, that *Archelaus* reigned nine years compleat; and that the tenth year was current, when he was banished. *Dio* (p) places *Archelaus's* banishment in the 759th year of *Rome*. If *Herod* did not die

(m) Ἐτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνάτῃ φυγαδύεται μὲν εἰς Βίενναν. *De Bell. l. 2. c. 7. §. 3.*

(n) Δικάτῃ δὲ ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχιλάου, οἱ πρῶτοι—κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος. *L. 17. c. 15. §. 2.*

(o) Καὶ [γίνεται] Μαυρίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχιλάου τὸ δίκαιον. §. 1.

(p) Ὁ, τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος, — ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ὑπερφίσθη καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ἐδημοσιώθη. *l. 55. p. 567. B.*

till the beginning of A. U. 751, the ninth year of *Archelaus's* reign could not be completed in the 759th year of *Rome*. But if *Herod* be supposed to have died the beginning of A. U. 750. *Josephus* and *Dio* agree. Moreover, *Josephus* says, that *Cyrenius* (q) seized *Archelaus's* estate, and finished the assessment in *Judea* in the *thirty seventh year after the defeat of Antony at Actium by Cesar Augustus*. The victory at *Actium* was obtained the 2d. *Septemb.* A. U. 723. Therefore the 37th year from it begins 2d. *Septemb.* A. U. 759. and ends 2d. *Sept.* 760. Supposing then, that *Herod* died the beginning of A. U. 750, there is in this particular also a very good harmony between *Josephus* and *Dio*.

There is however one great difficulty attending this opinion. For *Josephus* has said in two places, that *Herod* reigned *thirty four years* after the death of (r) *Antigonus*; and

(q) Κυρήνιος δὲ τὰ Ἀρχιλαῦ χρηματα ἀποδόμειν ἤδῃ, καὶ τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἔχουσιν, αἱ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῇ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀσιωνίαν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἦτταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος. *Antiq. l. 18. c. 2. §. 1.*

(r) — Τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἀφ' ἧ μὲν ἀποκτείνας Ἀσιγόνοον ἐκράτησε τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀφ' ἧ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπιδείχθη βασιλεὺς, ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. *de B. J. l. 1. c. ult. §. 8. vid. etiam Antiq. 17. c. 8. §. 1.*

thirty

thirty seven years after he was declared King by the Roman Senate. And he placeth this declaration (s) of the Senate in A. U. 714, the death of (t) *Antigonus* in the year 717. If indeed at the begining of A. U. 750, *Herod* had reigned thirty six years compleat from the first date of his reign, and thirty three from the later; so that the 37th of the one epoch, and the 34th of the other were to be current at the time of his death; then *Herod* might be said not improperly to have reigned, with respect to the one, thirty seven years, and to the other, thirty four. It is supposed by some learned men, that *Herod* was declared King by the Senate (u), toward the very end of the year 714; by others (x) at the later end of *October*, or begining of *November*; by others (y) in *September* or *October*; by others (z) about the midle of *July*, that year. But then, at the begining of the year 750, *Herod* could not have reigned from this date thirty six

(s) *Antiq.* 14. c. 14. §. 5. *De B.* 1. c. 14. §. 4.

(t) *Antiq.* 14. c. ult. §. 4.

(u) *Alix. de J. C. Anno & mense natali.* p. 75.

(x) *Basnage Ann. Polit. E. Vol.* 1. p. 17. n. 16.

(y) *Norif. Cenot. Pif.* p. 139. *Pagi Appar.* p. 80.

(z) *Whiston's short view*, p. 150.

years

years compleat, nor was the 37th year current. Herod took Jerusalem, as some (a) think in September A. U. 717; others (b), about the end of June; Archbishop Usher (c), on the first of January this year. If the Archbishop's supposition could be allowed, we should have here no difficulty. But if any of the others are followed, then from this date of Herod's reign; the taking of Jerusalem, or the death of Antigonus, (which are all one;) to the beginning of the year 750, we have not quite thirty three years compleat, nor is the thirty fourth current.

In answer to this difficulty it is said (d) by learned men, that the years of the Jewish Kings were computed from the beginning of the month Nisan, which usually answers pretty near to our March. Infomuch that, if a King began to reign in any part of the year before, even in February, another year of his reign would begin with Nisan, that

(a) *Alix ubi supra*, p. 117.

(b) *Whiston ibid.* p. 152. *Basnage ibid.* p. 30. n. 9.

(c) *Annals. P. J.* 4677.

(d) *Inde etiam anni regum Hebraeorum supputabantur, ita ut si quis Rex in Adar regnaret, a Nisan alter annus imperii ejus inciperet. Reland. Antiq. Heb. de Temporib. sacris, c. 1. init. vid. etiam Kepler. de ann. natal. J. C. cap. 7. p. 46.*

is, March. So *Josephus* relates, that *Jerusalem* was taken (e) by *Pompey*, when *Antony* and *Cicero* were Consuls; by *Herod*, when *M. Agrippa* and *Caninius Gallus* were Consuls, on the very anniversary of the same calamity from *Pompey*, it having been taken by him on the same (f) day twenty seven years before: though there were but twenty six years compleat between these two events. And from the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Herod* to it's destruction by *Titus*, *Josephus* computes (g) one hundred and seven years, though it was but one hundred and six compleat. But, in my opinion, these instances are not home to the point. For in them the year named is current. Whereas, in the case before us it is not so. If *Herod* died in the begining of the year 750, the thirty third and thirty sixth years of his reign were not compleat.

§. IV. Other (h) learned men suppose, that *Herod* died a short time before the Passover A. U. 751. This they argue from the

(e) *Antiq.* 14. c. 4. §. 3.

(f) *Ibid.* c. 16. §. 4.

(g) *Ibid.* 20. c. 9. vid. *Kepler* *ibid.*

(h) Vid. *Lamy Appar. Chron. Par.* i. c. ix. *Basnage Annal. Pol. Eccl.* Vol. i. p. 156. n. v.

number of years assigned to *Herod's* reign in the places above mentioned. They do not allow the truth of the *Talmudical* account of computing the reigns of the *Jewish* Kings from the beginning of *Nisan*, or from the *Passover*. If *Josephus* had followed such a kind of computation, he would have given some hint of it in his books writ in the *Greek* language and for the instruction of strangers. They say also, that *Herod's* was a slow lingering distemper; and that it is not likely he should die so soon after the execution of the *Rabbies* and their accomplices, as is supposed by the patrons of the former opinion. Lastly, they observe the (A) agreement of all the other numbers in *Josephus*, concerning the dates of the reign of *Archelaus* and other sons of *Herod*.

This opinion however labors under several very great difficulties. *Dio's* account of the removal of *Archelaus* is entirely rejected. But to do this (i) is not very reasonable. Farther, the supporters of this opinion must allow of the eclipse abovementioned; or

(A) Note; the learned men, who espouse the former opinion, suppose also, that *Josephus's* numbers in all other places agree with them.

(i) *Vid. Noris. Cenot. Pis. p. 147.*

they

they must say, it was no real eclipse, but only some obscurity that was taken for an eclipse. If they allow the eclipse, then *Herod* must have lived a year after the execution of the Rabbies, provided he (*k*) died but a few days before the Passover, A. U. 751. But it is incredible, that *Herod* should live so long, considering the description *Josephus* gives of his distemper. Besides, it is evident that the mourning of the *Jewish* people for the Rabbies, at the Passover next after *Herod's* death, was (*l*) very fresh, which it could not have been, if the Rabbies had been dead above a year before. Moreover, it is evident, that *Herod's* ambassadors were sent away to *Rome*, to know *Augustus's* pleasure concerning *Antipater*, some (*m*) time before the disturbance at the temple, when

(*k*) Quae aptis temporibus tribui non possunt, nisi haec mors contigerit jam aliquibus mensibus promoti Anno U. C. 751, in quo comprobavimus mortuum fuisse Herodem. Quo quo autem anno mortuus sit, NON MULTIS ANTE PASCHA DIEBUS mors illa obtigit, ut testatur *Josephus*, cui fidem adhibemus. *Lamy ubi supra.* §.

(*l*) Ἦν δὲ τὸ πένθος ἐκ ὑπεραλμίνου, ἀλλ' οἰμωγαὶ διαπεύσισι, καὶ θρήνη ἰγκέλευς, κοπετοὶ τε περιηχόντες ὅλην τὴν πόλιν. *De B. 2. c. 1. §. 2. vid. Et Antiq. 17. c. 9. §. 1.*

(*m*) *De B. 1. c. 32. fin. Antiq. 17. c. 5. fin.*

S f f

the

the golden eagle was taken down. And it is very plain, that *Herod* lived not (n) many days after the arrival of the ambassadours. So that, according to this opinion, these ambassadours must have spent above a year in their journey from *Judea* to *Rome* and back again, though they were sent upon very pressing businesse, which is also incredible. Or they must reject the account of the eclipse, and say, as *Lamy* (o) does, that it was only a paleness or obscurity, which was no real eclipse of the moon; which, I believe, will appear very unreasonable to all astronomers.

These are the three principal opinions concerning the time of *Herod's* death. And these the main arguments for, and objections against them. I presume it appears to the reader from particulars alleged from *Josephus* and *Dio*, that *Herod* did not dye before the year 750, nor survive the year 751: And that he died a short time before the *Jewish* Passover, of one of these years. It follows, that if *Herod* died in 750, he died three years and nine months before the Vul-

(n) *De B. ibid. c. 33. §. 7. 8. Antiq. ibid. c. 7. & c. 8. §. 1.*

(o) *Ubi supra, §. 6.*

gar Christian Æra, which commences January 1, A. U. 754: If at the time above-mentioned in the year 751, then he died about two years and nine months before the said Æra. Which is the truth, I am not able to determine.

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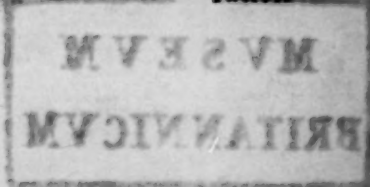
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